Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1954

01_03	Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP, New York), re: the best date for his tour stop in Toronto
01_05	Letter to Percy (Toronto), re: his book order; RD's attack of bursitis from campaigning in winter; our three candidates and the two on the label did best; Murray's campaign; ''parsimonious Dowson''s thanks for donation
01_21	Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP); re: how the split in the movement on Pablo stands; Murray's support for Pablo; we are able but should we endorse the International Committee (set up by SWP against the IS)?
02_08	Letter to Smith (possibly George Novack, SWP, New York), re: the Canadian section considering expressing its opinion on the international dispute (against Pablo); we are planning a convention or regional conferences to support the IC; sending you a draft of our proposed letter
03_01	Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP), re: the Pabloite minority in Canada and the international
03_08	Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: RD's rush to get his convention document ready before Murray leaves for the WC of the FI; RD's letter to the IS supported by a majority in Toronto and Vancouver; Murray's reaction and acceptance of the IS demand that the Canadian party be beheaded; the implications of the East German revolt; Quebec politics
03_22	Letter to Bill (W), Britannia Beach, BC, re: enclosing CCF papers we helped produce; the convention planned for Vancouver early next month over (Pablo supporters) minority objections; our majority support for the SWP Open Letter, their support for the crushing of the East German uprising; a Cochranite speaks in Toronto against anti-McCarthism
03_27	+Minutes of tops *(Political Committee –ed.):* Protests that some comrades` remarks were not accurately recorded in the previous Minutes; Motion lost to call off the (RWP) convention; on the "Pablo World Congress"
03_29	+Statement of Policy: the anti-"Cannonite" faction denounces the Canadian majority which calls for affiliation with the (FI-) IC faction
04_05	Letter to Smith (possibly George Novack, SWP, New York), re: our strangling the minority with democracy; the Cochranite speaker crushed by our aroused majority, the Pabloite minority in Eastern Canada divided and balking at a convention

04_12 ***Document: ''The End of the Canadian Pabloists," by D. James***; the Canadian Pabloite minority NC members announce their split and walkout from a Toronto branch meeting ; answering the charges of the minority; Pablo's appeal to adjourn our convention until after the World Congress, which they reject delaying until national sections have had their conventions to decide the question; the difficulty of getting the political differences discussed with the minority; the fight for Trotskyist orthodoxy

04_23 Letter to the *Saskatchewan Commonwealth*, re: a letter to the editor on the explosion of the H-Bomb by Eisenhower; quoting a CCF resolution blaming the world economic system for the danger of war

04_29 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: the Pablo minority's sudden pull-back from the convention; their claim of three phantom supporters (as well as J-M B.) from Montreal; and how they are now the majority and we the splitters from the FI; two Pabloists now in the right-wing of the CCF

05_13 Letter to Friends (possibly SWP, Buffalo), re: Jimmy's (JP Cannon) visit to the area and an invitation to include Toronto on his tour

05_14 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP, New York), re: enclosing our Toronto minutes to be forwarded to Pablo's committee; our Pabloists torn apart by the Pablo-Cochrane dispute

05_18 +(PC) Meeting (minutes): Agreement to join IC (of FI) in fight against Pablo, correspondence with BC comrades in agreement also, plans for the Canadian convention

05_21 Letter to Vince (Dunne, SWP, New York), re: expecting Jim's visit

05_21B +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): Toronto branch intervention in "mass movement" (CCF) convention; SWP and Pabloite document circulation; a disillusioned Canadian Pabloite; upcoming (BC-CCF) convention

06_07 +(PC) Meeting (minutes): on BC "mass movement" (CCF) convention; endorsation of IC (FI) actions, financial report

06_26 Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach BC, re: plans for the BC movement convention; work on the main discussion document; our loss of 4 comrades to Pablo

08_99 *++(No year date; from 62 Elm St.=1954)* Letter from Magna Bay (BC) to Lois (Bedard, sister): RD's trip to BC including Skeena area driving with brother Hugh, living by selling literature but asking Lois to cover rent cheques back home; on the totems of Prince Rupert, and tight finances

10_20 Letter to Wilson, Montreal, re: the denunciation by ‘’Baptist’’ of RD being involved in a “family dispute”; defended by the ‘’temperance’’ friend (in his CCF riding); a warning of repercussions affecting him in Montreal

11_25 +Letter to Reg (Bullock, Vancouver): Expulsions in the Ontario CCF youth forcing hand of adult clubs and destabilizing certain clubs; the Bevanites’ principled defence in the BLP; possible moves against Left in BC-CCF

473½ Yonge Street
Toronto
Janaury 3, 1954

Dear Farrell;

Thanks very much for the advance notice of your tour and the tentative Toronto dates.

We are all ~~certainly~~ looking forward to having you here with us. Thursday and Friday Jan 20 and 21 are fine with us. If these two days remain ours--and almost anyother two would be satisfactory as long as you gaive us a weeks notice--we plan (1) to take up one evening with a semi-public meeting featuring you as the speaker, (2) to take up the other with a meeting of our own people only

We would prefer that the semi-public meetingbe held the Thursday night. Attendance will be limited to persons fairly close to us--by invitation. There should be from 25 to 35 present. We gather that the main purpose of your tour is internal but that you will be prepared to give a public address of some general charadter. Almost any topic satisfactory to others will meet our needs and while we are not for a moment suggesting that you go to the trouble to prepare something specials for us we would like your talk to touch on --the present stage of McCarthyism, the fight against McCarthyism, the possibilities for a labor party, the tasks confronting socialists in the US, an assessment of the various socialist tendencies--the Thomasites, the Stalinists, the Trotskyists, etc

What you have prepared for internal purposes elsewhere will be fine for the following evening.

Should there be any change in the arrangments a weeks notice will be satsifactory. There is only one combination of nights that we would not like --that is Friday and Saturday. If someone will wire us or phone us in advance we would be pleased to meet the train. I understand that Murray has been barred so it would be best that as little about your coming over as possible be said about our nearest town.

comradely

Hoss

January 5, 1954

Dear Percy;

Sorry for the delay in replying to your card of December 28th. However I sent off in the mail at once the parcel of two books that you have received so that you would know that everything came through alright.

The new Cannon pamphlet has not come through yet. In fact the Kutcher book has not yet arrived in quantity. It appears that the US customs authorities have been only releasing copies of Kutcher's book in dribbles--sufficnet for sending out revéew copies but not much more. I have ordered no direct from England. The copy you have is somewhat dog-eared. It is the sample that we received and has been scanned throughout by many people waiting arrival of the shipment. Along with others I have scanned it and it appears to me to be an excellent job--the type of pamphlet that raw workers would read and greatly profit by.... written with extreme simplicity and clarity. The Kautsky book you have probably heard about and for many years like myself have wanted to read. It has been out of print for about 30 years. Havent read it myself yet but one of the best book I ever read was Kautsky's Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History. If this is half as good it will be a real addition to your library.

I too am sorry that you have been unable to get away from your work for so long. I hope that this note finds you well and of course your family also. My health and avoirdupois are pretty well the same, although I was crippled up for about 10 days after some campaign work on December 11th. I was forced to make my first visit to the doctor since army examinations and found that I had an acute attack of bersitis(spelling?) It seems that in putting leafelt in mail boxes in the rural area of Cookswille from the front seat of a car I strained muscles I never ordinarily utilize and This combined with the cold snap caused inflamation of the muscle and believe it or not I was unable to sleep more than an hour or two for about 4 nights. It was a pain that gives one a helpless feeling, somewhat amusing, and forced me to carry my arm in a sling for about a week just prior to Christmas. I had quite a job trying to type the letter I sent into the G and M Columnist J.V. MacAree protesting his review of the Churchill menoir from which he concludes that Churchill and his partners in crime wanted to give the liberated peoples the type of governments that they wanted. I drew to his attnetion that most revealing episode at Yalta where Churchill and Stalin cynically divided up the world. I see in mentioning my letter he left this quotation out in its entirty.

I am sending you along with this note a couple of leafelts that we put out. Independantly we ran one candidate--now we ran three...one of them with the mass movement label. The Ward 8 and Toronto Township campaigns were the most phenomenal. We only received the breakdown of the Ward 8 campaign yesterday so there is much more to say in the future but there we polled over 3,000 votes in the face of predictions of 1,000 we beat out a Tory candidate that is being groomed to take the seat next year and amazed all the chicken hearts in the mass movement who advance the line that the less you say about your ideas the better vote you will

poll and as for the label...never use that.It turned out that we were the only ones to use the label . All the other candidates hid their identity and program. None of them got elected or even near it--and of course in the process of their campaign left nothing for the future. The left in the Ward 8 area are highly jubliant about the results. We made a pseecial appeal to raise funds which is not usually done and are preparing to send out a detailed financial report and analysis of the results to all supporters--a thing that is never done. Of course this campaign, its principled character and its results is an embarassment to the brass The Toronto Township campaign--Cooksville area was also an excellent one Here there is no organized group of the mass movement. Over the past years work and the work of this campaign we have established ourselves i in the minds of this community as the mass movement. Heretofore isolated we were able to get about 20 people to contribute to the financial expenses of the campaign. This the the result of some patient work done with the national health petition in the community about a year ago and work done around the federal election last summer. We have gathered the names and addresses of about 50 interested persons in the community by door to door work , interviews etc. Of these fifty about 20 as I said gave money to help finance the campaign and of course this is quite a significant acto fo solidarity. We have now to attempt to consolidate this sympathy. We polled 223 votes, the winner 1,487, he is the son in law of Kennedy, former minister of agriculture in the Frost government. Toronto township is in Peel which is a strong hold of the Tories. In the town of Cooksville proper in the federal election this summer the CCF candidate polled about 10 per cent of the vote,something like 75 percdent of the electorate voted. While it is a working class community by and large there just isn't any tradition of labor politics-the Tories have it tied up tight. Well with only about 27 per cent of the electorate voting we polled 17 per cent of the vote in Cooksville.. very good,eh.

We were unable to tell too much in Murrays campaign. The mass movement had run a candidate for that post in previous elections. The peak that he had been able to roll up was something like 900---Murray got 544 In the next a very close sympathizer of ours ran for a similar post for the first time. He polled 494. Another chap who ran for Board of Education but campaigned on the same leafelt that went into the same houses of course polled a little over 1,000 votes. This fellow on his first campaign the previous year polled about 500. The number of voters in the municipal elections that have been going to the polls has been extremely low. In the township I think it was about 26 % For the most part I would say that these are older property owners, the bulk of the workers not bothering.

It is unfortunate that we were not able to write up a more radical leaflet--to deal with more important issues. However here we are dictated by the needs of our orientation. We went to use the campaigns to hel us along into the mass movement. We were compleleed to write them up along the line that we thought the best elements whom we are attempting to influence would like them to be. I think that in this sense they are a success. What do you think.

I suppose you have been reading about the international dispute in the pages of the southern press. A rahter unfortu ate development but after all when all is said and done part of the keeping the vanguard free from the pressures of the class enemy which at this time is considerable. This dispute is having considerable repercussion in the international. However here while there are differences of viewpoint we are

having a very orderly and educational discussion. It so happens that the key matters at dispute at this time do not have too much bearing to our work. We are united to a man on our main orientation. I must drop over one of these days and have a talk with you about these developments among others.

After typing this last sentence I am thinking yes why not--why dont I drop in on you for a visit. Wednesday and Thursday nights are my most available ones. Sunday is usually fairly good for me but I would imagin that you are tied up that day with your family. I would be aviable via the telephone at short notice. The next Wednesday or Thursday night you see coming up that I am free why not give me a ring and I will hop on the train. It is just a short trip.

And of course before I close, thank you on everyone's behalf for the enclosure, a bit staggering, and exceedingly welcome. You can be sure that it will be put to good use. I dont have the nickname Parsimonious Dowson for nothing. You know your system has got me so that I am somwhat intimidated from wiritng you a letter every now and then in fear that you will think I am dunning you. We certainly must get together again somehow.

with warmest regards

Koss.

January 21,1954

G.C.= George Clarke - George Novack

Dear Farrell;

Thanks very much for the advance copy of Comrade Cannon's review and analysis of the internal struggle. An extremely valuable contribution to straightening things out for us up here. One of the comrades who is strongly IS and who over the past years has revealed strongly conciliationist to Stalinism tendencies (G.C. himself once brought it forcefully to his attention) remarked to me that it threw more light on the dispute than anything he had yet read.

But let me give you a picture of how things stand here now.

Our two main bases of course are Vancouver and Toronto. Vancouver except for a couple of absentions is strongly International Committee--they have passed a resolution to this effect. It appears that their experienceswith the Seattle comrades have been a big factor in this. One of the comrades with encouragement from Ben and an L.A. visitor has entered into the situation quite dynamically and consolidated the group. The absentions I gather were based on the fact that only three persons there had read the IS document and your criticism.

The Vancouver action has had and will haveother than from an organizational point of view little influence on the development of Toronto opinion. The Vancouver International Committee protegonist only a month or so ago resigned from our leading body over a petty incident totally unrelated to current problems, has always had the appearance of being opposed to the center on all questions as a matter of principle,and maintained contact for some period with a Torontolan who is totally discredited as being opposed to everything we represent and who recently resigned from the group to everyon'e releif(Joe Rose)

Toronto except for two persons who cutta figure in the group is anti-Cochran and Pablo. I gauge this from the discussions that we have been having and not by any votes---we have taken none. As the dispute developed in your group and bulletins were passed around a line-up took place--however we had no formal discussions on your dispute. When the IS document came out we commenced a discussion during which a few comrades expressed a certain disatisfaction with formulations. But with no practical experiences we failed to make a correct political appraisal. Your open letter letter came like a bomb--no one was prepared, we were all shocked. Our first reaction was not so much organizational loyalty as a fetish--up until then we had no reason in the world to doubt our loyalty to the IS. But when your plenum resolution on the IS document can through clarity started to come--and has contin ed to come.

We are continuing discussion here on related problems--last week on the time schedule of war--war or depression and deal----next week on the significance of recent developments in the USSR. While I have so far fevored keeping the whole thing on a discussion plane(for 2reasons-one of the persons who is pro-Pablo is one of the most valuable in the group--to serve as an educational experience for our young and inexperienced group) it is rapidly moving off this because of recent developments which are forcing decisions.

The Pabloite who is important here is Murray. Recognizing the relation ship of forces he has favored discussion and indecision here. His line is that we should go to the WC and settle matters there. In passing I have noted that he expects to be the delegate(he has been making arrangements from somewhile back) and that he interprets the Open Letter and the International Committee as a split, justifying completely the recent IEC ukase against supportersof the above which covers about 90% of us.

For me the sending of a delegate to the WC in now depsendent on what the forces in the Internaational Committee do. It would be preferable that the anti-IS forces appear at the WC, fight for their ideas and take it over. But what with this recent ukase is seems reasonable to believe that we have a rump congress coming up. There is a strong tendency amongst us not to leave the WC in Pablo's hands--a feeling that there are some valuable forces that may yet be saved.

We have never received the appeal of the IC for FI. All we know of it is what we have read in the Militant. We would like to receive a copy just as soon as possible. I have interpreted both the letter and the International Committee as attempts to organize an international fraction within the International. But our Pabloites characterize them as a split to sink the WC and it appears that Pablo has convinced others to this effect.

I would like to know what you intend to do as regards to the WC and how you think we should conduct ourselves here. Of course we are not going to let a minority(and such a small one too) dictate the course but I am in favor of our conducting ourselves in such a way as to permit this minority to be a minority and not lose it. As things now stand we have common agreement on the immediate work that confronts us in this country although for persons who want a discussion our Pabloites were extremely sharp last week. Do you suggest that I should press for endorsation of the International Commitee at once or should we let it ride?

Incidently I am somewhat suprised to see us write about the Br section in the peper. Possibly they are of the opinion that this will not effect their work. If we received publicity of our existance it would certainly harm our work. If there is any need to refer to us possibly Alaska should be adopted. Perhaps correspondence of the above type should be mailed to the bookstore and not Murray's--otherwise continunig to use his address.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

February 8, 1954

Dear Smith; (probably to SWP, New York (?) to George Novack?

I received your letter of the 2nd and this morning the minutes out of which the letter came.

Prior to receiving your letter I had been thinking over this matter of our not only intervening in the international scene but correcting the record for our own scattered forces. We had received a batch of internal bulletins from the IS thro the Collins group. Possibly you hav seen it --it is an ettempt to swing any doubtful elements into line on the basis that everyone is pro-Pablo so you might as well be also. It includes a portion of the statment that we made back in November. I came to the conclusion that this bulletin gave us the perfect opening to bring the record up to date and to explain why we took the stand tha I did on Nov 29. So just prior to receiving your letter I sat down and drew up a letter which I thought would be good to send through our own ranks and send onto you--possibly you would put it in your bulletin or the International Committee's bulletin.

I am going to send you a copy of this letter tommorow--I am not enclo sing it at this time as I wish to have an opportunity to show it to another comrade to obtain the benefit of his advice and criticism.

Even after reading your minutes and the 2 views expressed I think that this line of attack is the best one. Yourentire discussion was within the frame-work of the group taking a formal position on the International Committee. In my own opinion we are not yet able to do this. We do not have any Pabloists, they are all mainly attorney like Germain. But these attorneys are not to be ignored. The PC is 2 International Committee and 2 Pablo. The NC is 3 International Committee, 3 Pablo and one doubtful probably Pablo. The general line of our Pabloists is lets keep the discussion going. I am hopping to strike the first blow with my motion and statement on the IEC suspension of supporters of the Committee but only a week has gone by and we have not heard from outside points. If I was to press a motion for support to the International Committee it just would not pass, at least not in the NC, it would pass in the two main groups Vancouver and Toronto. In our last minutes you will note we are discussing a convention or regional conferences. In my opinion it is necessary for us to have a convention or some compromise of one in order to finally decide where we stand. Our Pabolsits are organixational fetichists and insist on looking at the International Committee and Open Letter as splits, as against the World Congress. Behind the discussion on convention-regional conferences is the knowledge of relationship of forces in the membership. The Pabloists dont know what to do--Pablo is forcing the issue with his suspensions and yet they are a monirtiy in the ranks...they argue against regional conventions along the line that they are like taking a referendum, they want real conventions, representative one like we are not really able to have and never have had. Either way they are a minority, they known it and that accounts for the fuzziness of the discussion on the matter. At a convention we could pass a motion supporting the International Committee but not in the NC...certainly not at this time...and the present Pablisits are suprisingly hard

We could of course undercut the NC-PC by having the Toronto group go on record for the Committee as Vancouver has already done. At this time at anyrate I dont think that this would be a good idea.

After re-examining your discussion I believe that this letter of mine will do all that you want it to do...of course I am not talking about its caliber....but it is writtenin general conformity with your purpose. It is not addressed to anyone in particular but isa addressed to those who would tend to have the position that Ceylon has. In the process it tells just where the Canadian group stands at this time.

I would like you to read it over. If it in general conforms to what you had in mind but you would like it strengthened here or there make your notetions on it and send it back for me to integrate your suggestions into it. I will be holding it up at this end until I hear from you. It would prnably be best that I send a copy to Ceylon from here. In the past I have had a casual correspondence with Daghevan. If it is not at all what you want let me know and I will see what I can do.

fraternally

Ross

March 1, 1954

Dear Farrell;

Here is the latest on developments here. The Toronto motion is not much . As presented it also contained a section condemning the IEC for its suspension decrees .This section would have passed 9 for and probably 5 against however it was withdrawn when one of our own ~~gang~~ boys hit the floor with the line that "what the hell do we want to condemn the rump Pabloite IEC for anyway--to hell with them--sure the Open Letter was a split~~---~~to condemn them is to recognize them--to hell with them."So we embarassedly withdrew the second part.

(8)

Yesterday we had a caucus meeting here. We already have the majority in the branch in the caucus. The Pabloists are hedging on naming their caucus. They are holding phoney meetings to which they invite everyone but the IC supporters. But their actual caucus numbers 4. That leaves one who probably wont take a stand and two others who I am confident with a little patience we will have with us. As a matter of fact it is not at all excluded that we will crack the Pabloites if they will stay with us long enough.

In your minutes you report that the NC is 3-3 one doubtful who is probably a Pabloite. Since then we have his vote on the IEC suspension decree and he does not abstain as the Pabloites do but votes against with us. His statement is not too clear but we may well win him over.

We received no order about suspensions other than the general one sent out by Paris. But just the other day we received a letter from the IS--their comment on the minutes where Williems Kane statement of refusal to implement the IEC ukase and demanding immediate withdrawl was recorded. This letter is no order, not at all. It is all very sad. It is an appeal to come to the NC, adjourn your final decision after having heard the reports of your representatives to the World Congress. I see now that I have begun to tell you about it that I really should type it out for you. I t will give you a feeling ~~for~~ of their line to Ceylon etc. and might prove quite valuable to JPC and Hanson. I will send you a copy before the week is out.

Have had a first run through the letter to Ceylon. Really an excellent job. There can certainly be no talk of our going to a WC without the IC doing some hard bargaining --we want to know Ceylon's political line--what the ~~political~~ fundamental political line will be before going.

Preparations are underway for our convention. Unless the Pabloites decide the matter by walking out before then or we win them over before them(not likely) the formal relation of the North to the IC will have to stand. But there is enough evidence for any one to see that the North is already lined up behind the IC and this can be broadcast to wherever it may prove useful without fear of contrdiction.

fraternally

Ross

March 8, 1954

Fitz - Fitzgerald = Murray D.

Dear J- M Ballod,

Sorry to have been delayed in picking up your correspondence. I have been pressing myself to get every minute I can for the working out of the document on the mass movement for our coming convention. I have managed to get about 3/4 of it polished off so far and no doubt will get the rest of it wirtten before this week end and the PC meeting. As you know we have very little time between now and the convention so this document must have top priority. I have raised the matter with Fitz of postponing his trip some for you know the convention date has been set so that he can attend it before going to Europe and so that the group here can take a formal stand on its relations with the IEC and the IC. However I get the impression that he is not too interested in postponing it at all although Paris says there is no need to be there until the end of May

But to pick up your letters.

Yes of course I had everything to do with the letter in the southern press. You dont take exception to the use of Montreal do you? If I had though you would I would have made it Quebec City or Halifax. I dont think it matters much do you. The Iceland of course was necessary as we dont want to give the Coldwells anything but then I wated to make it so that anyone really interested could put two and two together--thus Montreal, or Halifax From a security angle I dont think that the letter gives the Coldwell gang anything to work on that they havent already got. Besides there are few copies of the Southern press coming thro. I have the complete tape and there are only about 4 copies the recipients of which we do not know. And as an added precaution we have taken this bundle out of the store

As for the contents. I showed it to Murray and he didn't get past the first page before he threw it down in a rage. When the bulletin of the IS published by the Collins group came out with its baulderized version of our statement (Canada blazoned accross the top) I showed it to Fitz and commented on how it was being used by the IS to make it appear that we supported them as against the IC he commented that it was too bad--quite unfortunate. But my feelingsgo further then that. I am not going to let the IS promote the idea that we support their political line and attempt to line up other sections in discussion with the pressure of this "FACT." Our statement as I said in the letter on the political issues was actually we dont know along with a condemanation of the publication of the open letter. However as has long been the custom in movements such as ours matters never stay on the organizational plane--politics are superior. And of course the IS was using this organizational disagreement with the south to promote the idea that we disagree with the south's politics and agree with theirs. As you know while we have not yet had a convention the majority of Canada and at least myself the author and one of the three signers of the letter do not agree with the IS politically...quite the opposite.

I am for irreconcilable war on the politics of the IS

As for its publication in the southern press. I am 100% in agreeemtns with that and so is the majority fraction here....and I understand from the mail this morning the entire group in Van. From your reading of the IS La Verite you will see that the fight is altogether out in the open. I see that they are publishing sections of the bulletin--the one that contained the Canadian and other first reactions. Probably Canada will appear anyday as Ceylon had already. But Ceylon doesn't support the IS politically at all--they have some organizational doubts which of course being distinctly matters of third rate importance among such as us will shortly be strightened out. The whole thing is now out in the open and whether some of us regret it or not we have to recognize it. Now it seems to me a qualitative change has come about and the more open the better for its Marxist solution.

Fitz upon reading the letter in the southern press phoned me up to tell me that with this I had broken off all personal relations with him And when I tried to talk to him as to what was wrong with it he hung up. To my knowledge therels nothing in it that is not a fact. It seems to me that Murray is getting hopelessly tangled up in the IS's organizational trap--almost to the total exclusion of talking about the politics of the dispute.

I find it highly ironical that Murray can enthusiatcially defend the IS move on Dliebtrue, make impassioned defences of Cochran against Cannon, insist that the NZ group split from the FI--defend in fact the IS all down the line on the organizational line--and not get the least exc cited when the IS attempts to split his own group. For by God that is just what that 14th plenum decree was designed to do. He made it crystal clear in the EC minutes

> "Fitzgerald stated that he was in complete agreement with the suspension of Comrade Kane from the IEC and as for the IEC directive that comrades Kane, Williams and Thorne be suspend ed from the NC of the Canadian party he stated that due to the nature of our party, because of its political level this instruction was inoperative."

I have noted your comments on the recordning of the vote and will bring it to the attention of the EC and record it in the next minutes. Nonethe less in my opinion you are all wrong...this -it was wrong to hold a vote on the question. The rump IEC and I use this word advisedly for if we are to tangle ourselves up in organizational procedure according to our statutes this suspension order was completely xxxxxx inadmisable as those involved including myself were not even consulted, the rump IEC as I said issued us an instruction. I assume that the IEC formulated the instruction with the intention that it would be carried out....and carried out by us too.

We are faced with carrying it out or refusing to carry it out as I see it and then you say you are opposed to holding a vote in it. Do I understand that you want us to carry it out just as an automatic process? The question is there and all the wishing that it were not in the world are ot going to remove it. Generally we have little use for neitralism and I ertainly dont heve any use for it on such a matter.

In my opinion there is no use talking about the vote holding being a eparture from the previous EC position"--we are faced with a new question hich requires new answers

Ken Sutherland

I find it very difficult to understand how you read the plenum decree--It says and I quote word for word--"To suspend from their posts of leadership in the sections all those who signed these appeals or approved them and are trying to rally on this base the sections of the International." I must insist that I approve <u>now</u> 100 % the Open Letter(I was wrong before and I admit it and there is no use your quoting in your statement some previous view of mine) and I am afraid that everyone is going to have to admit that the Open Letter was completely correct, justified POLITICALLY After all it is a political document--the tactical advisability of the handling of it can only be discussed within the framweork of its politics. Amobg the comrades who support its politics there are differing views about how it was handled. But if you disagree with its politics it is idle to talk about its organizational implications. I also appprove of the International Committee and I am trying to rally on its base the sections of the International.

If you want to call all these, the Open Letter, The International Committee a split as you seem to want to insist upon(and ignore my denail) then you are forced by the same token to call me one who is calling for a split. Which of course as you know I again deny. I am for ditching Pablo, not split but unity around our orthodox ideas.

Fitz makes it very clear in his subsequent statement in the minutes which I reporduced ~~xxx~~above. He calls me a splitter and is for my being ditched by this rump committee from the post that I was given by the WC. He makes it clear that he would purge me and others like me from the group here but due to the nature of our group and its level is cant be done. In other words he cant get away with it. And with this there is a great deal of talk about loyalty to the International of which I must point out "our group" is a part and to which loyalty is also owed.

The discussion is proceeding here quite well. Last week Fitz and I debated on the organizational aspects of the dispute--this is the first real one on this aspect of the dispute and as far as I am concerned the last too. Now we must get into the politics again. Of course they are not in formal compartments and so we had a situation where Ken had the audacity to say at the last meeting that it would have been ridiculous for the IS in its manifesto to call upon the Russian soldiers to join the revolt--the troops would know what would happen when they got back to the USSR if they had joined in--they would get their heads cut off. This is parelle to to what Murray Weiss told us the West German leader of our group(Pabloite) said about the criticism that the IS manifesto should have called for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops---Why that would leave the door open for Wall street's troops." Obviosuly the revolution in the buffer countries is just not possible---it might fail, imperialism will take advantage of it --Lenin knew what to reply to this latter argument when it was raised against the Bolsehviks by Kerenskyites. As you know the EAast German manifesto fails to call for the formation of a 4th International party just as this was eleft out of the Rise and Fall of Stalinism when it came to present our transitional demands on the USSR--this last line -There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection--the party of the Fourth International! Rather an interesting coincident n'est ce pas! The SWP has raised this as a criticism. .this failure to call for the organization of a party of the Fourth International in East Germany and Ken tries to say that the SWP complains that the IS didn't call for the legalization of the Trotskyist party which of course we know doesn't exist yet---and why should you call for the legalization of a party that is non-existant. A real muddying of the waters on a most important question---is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a Trotskyist party necessary to carry out the revolution--is Lenin's con-

ception of the essential role of the conciosu factor valid---or as George put it will the bureaucracy share the power. I know that Germain and I understand Pablo dont care for George's formulation but what they had to say on East Germany and on the USSR in Rise and Fall does sustain the George firmulation.

However I dont suppose there is too much purpose on my fgoing into all this when the southern press is doing such a good job on these crucue questions.

I hear from Lois that everything is set for your leaving on your trip. I assume that you will in the interest of our knowing everything make contact with the Bäelbtrue group and with the Healy group as well as with Pablo and the Collins group.

I am hoping that Fitz will delay his trip so that xxx we can set the convention date back somewhat and so that you can be with us when it comes off.

The Picard speech is extremely interesting--I have put it up on the board for everyone to see. It is a very left speech and would seem to be hardly in keeping with any third party line as you would expect to come from L'Action Nationale and Le Devoir. Then again of course in order to make a rupture with the past I suppose Picard might have to speak like this for the first period. It would be unfortunate if the mounting dissatisfaction with the Liberals and Duplessis were to be siphoned off into a third capitalist party formation. Of course it would push the CCF to the left and compel it to go further in Fr Canadianizing itself wouldn't it. I was pleased to see that the Quebec section did not frontally oppose Duplessis' income tax legislation but supported it. Then too if Picard's third party were to materialize breaking across the Duplessis and Liberal provincial äection machines it would have to make some kind of orientation on the federal front. If it didn't take a labor orientation it would be compälled to live a split provincial -federal life. If it supported the Liberals or Tories is would slip back into the morass on the provincial fie filed. If it were to support the CCF--on the provincial field the CCF would commence to dissappear inside it.

What kind of response did Valliancourt get on his committee proposal. This would seem to me to ensure that the CTCC would slip into the CCL CCF fold possibly with only a slight organizational re-adjustment of the CCF. I thought one of the significant aspect of the last federal elections was that CTCC leaders and activists came much closer to the CCF.

Somewhat of a stalemate in the Montreal area--is there anything outside Somewhere, I think it was in a recent CCL labor I recall reading that woodworkers, żżm woodsmen in Northern NB had organized a couple of locals

You ask about magazines from the south---we have two the FI and American Socialist. Did I not send you the last FI with Cannon's Factional Struggle and Party Leadership (dated Nov-Dec 1953) American Socialist is comibg in --three issues so far. A new FI will be arriving any day now. Let me know what you want--of course I will send you the new FI when it arrives.

Your Feb 4 cheque covered the month of February. Sent money to the IS last month but I am proposing at the next PC that we freeze this matter until the convention....which will give us a better idea where we are going. Cannon has some interesting things to say about the WC and WC's in general will send it along as soon as possible, warmest regards

Ross

March 22, 1954 ✓

Britannia Beach

Dear Bill

I have put my return address on this letter as I have done on other items that I have sent your way in the past period for it is so long since I have heard from you that I am wondering if you are still in the same place . Of course Reg also told me that you were thinking of pulling out of Britannia to go somewhere in the Fraser Valley to farm. Since none of the letters have returned here I gather that you are still in contact with the postal authorities.

I am enclosing along with this note the latest copies of club papers in the Toronto area that we have had a big hand in producing. We have got some of the clubs to go for them on the basis that they need to put out a monthly notice of club affairs anyway and we might just as well get across some ideas to those who are members but do not come to club meetings. I think they are quite good, dont you.

I have been looking forward to hearing from you as to your availability should we be able ot handle our get-together in Vancouver this year. I suppose you noticed in one of the communications that we are billing it for April 9, 10, 11. It would be held for ce certain in Vancouver this time if it were not for the somewhat persistant attempts on the part of the minority in the group that it be held here in Toronto. But the final negotiations have not been reached. Nonetheless I would appreciate it if you would let me know that should we be able to hold it in Vancouver you would be able to attend. I suppose you are one of the fortunate ones who could most easily arrange attendance in Vancouver since you live so close.

This get to gether is of course quite important...as a matter of fact its importance is what is causing us to still debate over whether or not it should be held in Vancouver or Toronto. No doubt you have been reading all about the dispute in the International in the pages of the F.I. Militant and have also been following the Internal Bulletins. The big problems aside from analyzing and drawing the balance sheet on the past two years work in the mass movement in where do we stand in the international dispute. In my mind it even takes precendense over the mass movement discussion for what is involved is the defence of our whole doctrine--its defence against liquidationism.

The discussion has of course been going on fast and furious ever since the SWP Open Letter. Vancouver is now one hundred per cent in support of the International Committee and against Pablo. Toronto is two to one for the Committee and against Pablo. Angus due to the pressure of union work writes that he is not too up yet on the bulletins to state a rounded and considered opinion but Paddy tells me that in a personal note to him Anguscis quite critical of the Pablo line on East German uprising and that in his opion it is only a matter of time (when he gets down to reading over the material) that Angus will be supporting the International Committee's political line

It is really unfortunate that you have been unable to attend any group discussions. I gather that you have been unable to get into any of Vancouver's as Reg has said nothing of it. Our discussions here have been most informative. I at first was taken aback by the open letter as was everyone else here but in the process of discussion and reading we soon strigthened ourselves out alright--for after all politics are the primary factor to consider and organizational actions can only be subservient to developing and carrying the political line. We have been holding a whole series of discussions with a speaker from the SWP and also one from the Cochranites. Our local supporters have showed a great deal of reluctance to discuss political differences and have tried to bog us down in organizational discourses. One of our most interesting discussions was one we held at our last meeting on East German which together with the Pablo-Clarke comments on the USSR appear to me to b the most revealing of the differences.

One of our leading Pabloists defended the IS Manifesto on East Germany right down the line---as you know it did not call for the organization of a revolutionary party but for the democratization of the CP which in the June uprising along with the Soviet troops was the instrument of the counter-revolution. As you know the manifesto did not call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which crushed the uprising. Our Pablist defended all this as being correctly so. One of his arguments as to why we did not call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops was that should they have forced the Kremlin to carry out their withdrawal they would have been cut to ribbons by the bureaucracy later on---an interesting example of revolutionary pessimism---why we might fail and then heads would roll. His main line was that our manifesto should not raise any demands that the workers do not raise.....although a real retreat from Leninism---real talism. But he went further to say that the revolution is going to develop through the present existing organizations---the East German CP and trade unions---although these were apparently the instruments of the counter-revolution. He went on to attempt to establish the idea that all the demands in the IS Manifesto were a series of transtional demands that added up, even though they didn't say it, to the idea of the political revolution...suggesting that work in the East German CP and trade unions was a transitional act on the way to building the revolutionary party. One of the comrade pointed out that the transitional demands are designed to take the masses where they are now forward towards the revolution ----but the events on June in East Germany were a revolution---only one that failed. He suggested that it is as if we here in Canada were on the verge of establishing workers power and some one came out not for all power to the soviets but instead for the sliding scale of wages and other transitional demands. A point well taken I think.

The absence of the call for a revolutionary party (instead democratization of the Stalinist party) is extremely important. The Manifesto line would seem to clearly say that the CP can become the revolutionary party---that all we need is reform. Pablo and German have said they disagree with Clarke's line that the bureaucracy will share the power but here it is from Pablo's pen in East Germany in the process of a revolution. Germain suggests that it was all an accident that in reproducing all the demands from the transtional programmon the USSR that the last demand was left out---it was one saying that"there is only oneparty capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection---the party of the FI". But theyall tie in---and all it means to me is that the revolutionary pressures which due to exceptional cirmumstances brought the CP's in China and Yugoslavia to take a revolutionary direction will work on all CP's everywhere and that Stalinism will make the proletarian revolution---true not as correctly as we would want it but will do it nonetheless. If this is not liquidationism I dont know what it is.

Mazey who spoke here just two nights ago on behalf of the Cochranites brought home to me very clearly comrade Cannon's contention that the fundamental trait of the Paloists is defeatism about the revolution and the possibilities of the building of the revolutionary party which for Marxists of course are inextricably interconnected. He was very vigorous in his attack on the Militant for its calling McCarthy a fascist and for what he called the "hysteria" of its campaign against McCarthyism. He likened the Militant campaign to the way the Stalnists use the term fascist as an epithet to fling at any reactionary. According to him the American bourgeoisie doesn't need fascism---he held out the idea that the Republican party itself would curb McCarthy. Of course I do not know what the future in any precise way holds for McCarthy but I am strongly opposed to any policy other than that of knipping such types and movements that are rolling up behind McCarthy in the bud. I wont mind looking backward and saying that it looks like McCarthy wasn't the American brand of fascism after we have crushed it. Hitler was a fascist in 1930 when the bourgeoisie as a class had not rallied behind him. I think the Militant anti-McCarthy campaign is quite inspiring.

But this could go on for many pages. There is one matter I would like to take up and that it the matter of the convention. If it were held in Vancouver on the suggested date could you possibly get down. At the same time as you reply to this I would be very much interested to hear how you see things in the international dispute. Within the next few days you will be receiving a document on our past two years work in the mass movement. Have sent off the first set of copies and am in the process of typing up the second. And of course we will be interested in hearing your opinion of this too but you could handle this later

And while you are at it --if you have not by then got a case of writers' cramp, drop us a few lines about what gives in the Mine Mill local, the local CCF etc.etc.

comradely

Ross.

Minutes of tops meeting March 27, 1954 Present-McAlpine, Fitzgerald, Williams, Kane.

Minutes of previous meeting read.
Following the reading of the minutes McAlpine protested that there were opinions , remarks, attributed to himself and Fitzgerald that they did not make; and remarks that they did make put down in the minutes without the surrounding argument. Fitzgerald protested that the motivations of his and McAlpine's motions were not presented in a rounded way while Kane's and Williams' were. McAlpine pointed to the arguments that he made why the convention should not be in Vancouver---Kane stated that of all places in the minutes these comments are precise as he took them down while McAlpine said them slowly for the purpose of the record. Kane asked McAlpine for one example where the minutes reported himself or Fitzgerald as having said something that they did not say. McAlpine produced no example. Kane commented that to the best of his ability he was recoding what took place at the meetings so that NC members would konw what took place. He expressed the opinion that comrades cant say things at the PC meeting expecting them to be off the record in someway. Kane admitted that in some cases his and Williams' remarks were more fully reported for he felt it was necessary to clarify motions made by Fitzgerald-McAlpine which would be incomprehensible otherwise to persons not in the center ---for instance the material that appeared in the minutes of the last meeting dealing with possibility of the convention being held in Vancouver . This had been put forward by Williams a few meeting previouslyand not reported in the minutes at the time---the Fitzgerald-McAlpine motion patently ignored all the previous unrecorded material.
Correspondence from Peirce, Wells and Thorne read.
The vote on the McAlpine-Fitzgerald motion to call off the convention---for McAlpine, Fitzgerald and Wilson. Opposed-Kane, Williams, Perice, Thorne, Wells. Motion lost 5 to 3
The vote on the McAlpine-Fitzgerald motion that we hold a convention or regional conferences after the World Congress and that we attend the World Congress....for McAlpine, Fitzgerald, Wilson. Opposed Kane, Williams, Thorne, Wells, Perice- In explanation of the Peirce vote his letter follows;

> I have small hope now of a complete understanding on the question before us prior to the date set for the WC. I agree with Cannon's advice to Goonewardene, that we should press for a postponement until the question has been fully discussed in all sections. If such a request was successful then a Canadian convention could be called at a later date(before the WC of course). If the request is unsuccessful I am still in support of going ahead with the present plans for a Canadian meeting. In this event I think it would be in error to discuss what convention we are to attend . We attend the 4WC. Our delegate will maintain our political position as arrived at in convention. There will, it appears, be sections present that have not completed discussions. It is for us to convince them of the correctness of our views and to convince the WC also. If the decisions of that Congress are at great variance with ours then the Canadian section have a problem---where to go from there. It is obvious that to have representation at the WC then regular funds must be forwarded. The returning delegate should, if possible, report on the WC at regional conferences. My position is not taken from any formalistic understanding but on the belief that this is not yet a complete and finalized split. Even as you believe the Canadian party has largely arrived at it's political position I believe that there is still work to be done within the International.
>
> The IEC have stated that all sections ,even those supporting the Militant article are at liberty to attend the WC, of course providing they agree to abide by the decisions of that Congress. This is ridiculous, such discipline cannot be enforced either before or after Certainly if we are serious we forgo secondary differences in the interests of a party unOited by common political ideas. When the political opinions of sections are incompatible then a split im inevitable and no formal declarations of faith can prevent it. It is this possibility I am considering when I day that the Canadian section may have a problem.

The vote on the Kane-Williams motion to suspend payments to the IEC until the convention--for Kane, Williams, Thorne, Wells. Against-Perice, Wilson, McAlpine, Fitzgerald. Since vote is tie Fitzgerald suggested that we continue payments. Kane suggested since convention only a couple of weeks away the matter be left.
The vote on collecting the levy for a world congress and the money being held in abeyance pending the decision of our convention. For Williams, Kane. Opposed-Fitzgerald, McAlpine, Wilson. of the basis that the money should be collected and sent prior to our convention. Wells commented"I am opposed to this; the convention when held could arrange for necessary ex-

expenses. There is no world Congress in prospect except the Pablo WC at this time. I cant vote to have the party's funds held for any indefinite destination in a period like this. I am shocked to hear that in February after the crisis was clear, party funds had been despatched to the IEC. All monies must be withheld until the section has made its decision as to where it stands--with Pablo or the International Committee." Motion lost.

Comrade Kane read out draft letter on the details concerning representation at the convention, convention levy etc. Letter suggested levy be three dollars, Williams suggested $5. Fitzgerald expressed opposition in the light of the fact that Kane has assured us that we can go ahead with a convention financially and the needs of the minority faction to meet its financial commitments or obligations. McAlpine expressed doubts about the basis of representation. General agreement to proceed with.

Motion by Fitzgerald that convention be held in Toronto. Comrades Kane and Williams expressed the opinion that while they were prepared to go along with a convention in Toronto it was apparent to them that it was not at all in the long range interest of the party to hold it in Toronto and also from the point of view of the minority if they wished to influence the rest of the party. An Eastern convention they pointed out would be limited to two at the most three comrades from the West...it would be a Toronto branch meeting with possibly some one from Windsor, and a couple of sympathizers from Montreal. Three comrades going to Vancouver from the East would have a valuable contact with our Western comrades, perhaps all of PR would get down and possibly several outside points. McAlpine-Fitzgerald stress the point that a convention in Vancouver would put them out of contact with their caucus for any consultation, that McAlpine would be unable to go and they had little freedom of choice as to their representative. Kane-Williams stated they failed to see what momentus decisions were going to be made or confronted by a minority delegate in Vancouver other than the ones that everyone knows are going to be dealt with-Kane stated that it was apparent to him that McAlpine was making no effort to make it possible for him to go to Vancouver. McAlpine stated that it s ited their purpose to have it in Toronto. Kane-Williams stated their agreement to accede to the minority demand although they thought it to be against the best interest of the movement.

Statement of Policy

The faction that has been organized by the Canadian supporters of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, to defend the unity of the Trotskist movement against the Cannonite splitters and the political program of our movement as expressed by the IIIrd World Congress and the main line of the documents submitted by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International for discussion at the IVth World Congress, and is presently called the Minority Faction of the Canadian Section wishes to make the following announcement of a decision taken by our Fraction.

Despite every effort on our part to keep the party on the correct road politically and loyal to the Fourth International and to persuade it to send delegates to the forthcoming IVth World Congress it is now painfully apparent that the Canadian Cannonites presently called the Majority Faction are determined at all costs to deepen the split initiated by the Cannonite section of the New Zealand leadership.

This is clearly revealed by two motions before a convention called for early in April, one from Vancouver the other from Toronto, which call for affiliation to the so-called "International Committee" and the steps taken by the Canadian Cannonites to cut-off financial support to the IEC and the decision they have taken not to raise the levy for the World Congress.

Our Faction remains loyal to the principles of revolutionary Marxist internationalism—the fundamental concepts of Trotskyism. We refuse to be a part, even as an objecting minority to any maximum actions which would strengthen the hand of Cannonism in its struggle to destroy the IVth International around which are rallied the overwhelming majority of the forces of world Trotskyism.

March 29, 1954

The attached statement was presented to the Toronto group meeting Wednesday March 31,1954
It was presented on behalf of 8 persons in the Canadian group (Fitzgerald, McAlpine, Ford, Dale, Houston, Wilson and D and J)
Immediately following presentation of the statement the Toronto group passed a motion designating the action of the minority as profoundly disloyal--the vote was 8 for, 4 against.
The majority referred to in the statement is the entire membership of the Vancouver group and a two to one majority in the Toronto group plus strong support in the membership at large. The minority is composed of 5 persons in the Toronto group and three persons in other Eastern points.
This statement that the minority refuses "to be a part, even as an objecting minority" to what forces in the Canadian group have stated they intend to press for at our convention to be held next week is probably without precendant in the annals of the socialist movement. It is a crude attempt on the part of a minority to blackmail the convention into submitting to its will with the threat that it will split the party.
It goes without saying that no Bolshevik group would submit to such an outrageous threat. Speaking on behalf of the minority Fitzgerald stated that should the convention decide to admit the Canadian group to the International Committee which the majority considers contain the forces in the Fourth International that are fighting against Pabloite revision of our doctrine, the minority would immediately constitute itself the Canadian section of the Fourth International.
These comments are not an attempt to answer this outrageous statement however a few words should be said on the charge now to some comrades that the Canadian cannonites have cut-off financial support to the IEC and have decided to refuse to raise the levy for the Pabloite World Congress. As late as February the N.O. sent funds to the International. At its last meeting on March 27 the P.C. decided to withhold further contributions pending the final decision, the instruction of the convention in the first week in April. Far from refusing to raise the levy the majority comrades on the PC made the motion that the levy should be raised immediately but took the stand that the funds should be held in abeyance pending the decision of the convention as to whether it would support this so-called World Congress of the Trotskyist movement

Kane

April 5, 1954

(George Novack, SWP, New York?)

Wilson-?

Dear Smith;

I am enclosing a copy of a statement that our minority here gave us at our meeeting last Wednesday. Appended to it is a short comment that went with it to members of our tops.

We are approaching the showdown here. Upon the presentation of this statement I am confident that the minority expected that we would expell them. I have never thought that they would go through a convention and thus give formal recognition to the fact that they are the minority and on the basis of full discussion. But we are strangling them with democracy. The get together is planned for next week end. If we had a formal statement of break from them we would be in favor of its post ponment. In fact there is a bit of a mix up here with our Western friends..it doesn't look like we are going to get much representation. Tonight I am hpoing to get some definite word from our minority so that we can call off the convention ~~scheduled~~ can arrange it more to the satisfaction of ourselves. We will go throught with it however no matter what inconvenience should the appear to be going to stick along with us right up to and into the convention. We think this necessary from the point of view of the international .

The majority is solid and overwhelming. We have been winning the fence sitters slowly and steadily till now the lines are very hard drawn. The minority is down to a hard core of 5 here in Toronto, a couple in Windsor and one in Montreal. The majority has Toronto two to one, Vancouver unanimously, and all the outside points that we have heard from. The only important point that may still be on the fence is Prince Rupert but last correspondence showed him swinging our way. [illegible]. Of course it is always a tendency to write off persons you loose, they were no good anyway,and usually this is true when the lines have been drawn clearly in discussion as they have in this dispute. But there is no question that we have come out of this well. The majority comrades have grown considerably. You would have been pleased to have heard how they handled Ernie Mazey. Someshile back we had agreed to hear Murray and some one of the Cochranites. As time went on I was for saying to hell with it but the majority of the comrades thought in the interest of winning the one waverer left in Toronto that we should go through with it....and we did. Mazey left here pretty well squashed

The maximum strength of the minority is 8 and it is by no means a homogeneous group. On the whole it is composed of the weakest elements that we had. One of them is a non-political type who formally speaking should be on a leave of absence but he has been resurrected by the minority. The Windsor duo are a husband and wife combination ,very demoralized, persons who have had practically no contact with the center and who also wouldn't be on the books if we had operated in a more formal basis. These two have long been friends of Joe Rose, long after the rest of the minority condemned him utterly. Another is a new comrade who is with the minority solely on a personal basis.. McAlpine is the only real Pabloite. Fitzgerald and Wilson are the only two with any real ability and do represent a loss to our movement—however one t at despite all our efforts could not be prevented. Fitzgerald will be deserting them within the next few weeks by going to Europe for a year or so. Wilson has long been a Stalinist conciliator—Clarke called him one not long ago to his face——Pablo with his trick formaulation has really disoriented this comrade and he doesn't know what he knows. At a recent discussion they suggested to one of us that they had 48% of the Eastern part of the party. They have developed the happy faculty of just writing off the West where they have no one. The other day another one of them told a comrade that they had more than that. ,,,and he started to enumerate a couple of sympathizers in Montreal and added into it Joe Rose and a couple of friends that he has

When they pull the pin it may well be that Pablo will be circulating information to the effect that they are the majority of the Eastern section if not the entire section. But there will not be the slightest truth in such claims. They are a splinter of a splinter. The only effect that their defection will have will be a certain financial loss. However we have more contacts around us at this juncture than we have had for years and not only will completely recover in short order but go forward.

The Canadian experience has been a sort of test tube experiment. Our minority never tired of telling us how the Italian International Committee supporters remained in the Italian group despite the fact that the majority came out for the Pabloite IEC. We agreed to go through a long derious detailed discussion with our minority which would be resolved at a convention. As the discussion proceeded they attempted to keep it on the organizational plane, we finally forced it on the political plane. As we proceeded to clear the air and win the majority of the party they commenced to balk at a convention. When the convention was inevitable and they were faced with a clear and indisputable rejection of their line they announced their decision to refuse to be a part, even as an objecting minority to the decisions of the convention. The whole process should be of considerable interest to other sections which are still going through the experience. At our last Toronto meeting one of the comrades took time to patiently demonstrate through a liberal use of quotation that the Pabloite line was not at all the line adopted by the IIIrd World Congress. They had always been hammering that our views were a rejection of the IIIrd WC, rpesenting its decisions as something engraved in stone as imperishable guides for evermore. But at this meeting they turned around—pro claiming that the IIIrd WC decisions were not sacred, that they were necessarily revised by subsequent plenums

Should we be faced with the formal split within the next few days I will certianly write you all the details—in fact in such a way as to be suitable for publication. If we have to go through with the convention to get it I will send you a detailed report of the convention. I hope you received the copy of the document TWO Years of Entry. I would be interested in knowing what you comrades think of it. Of course could do us irremediable harm should it fall into the wrong hands.

fraternally

(Paul) Kane. (R.P.)

I might add that we here are in complete agreement with the tactical demands that you make on Pablo. We have been following this line since Germain open the door for them and JPC developed this line in his excellent letter to Leslie Goonewardene. We were also highly satisfied with the way you handled the Kane letter and are agreeable to it appearing in an IB. I will inform everyone of the excellent developments you report in your letter to us. I assume from your Lora letter that you now have a suitable address and that you have sent on our two hundred. I would like to get something in recognition of its receipt to show to the person who gave me this money ..we have not got so much as a paper from Bolivia even though we probably wouldn't be able to read a line—a line or two from Lora would be good. As for the $41 you are holding—just hold it for another week so that everything will be formally correct via our convention

1954-Apr12

THE END OF THE CANADIAN PABLOISTS

BY D. James

The Canadian section is in receipt of a document by its Pabloite minority NC (National Committee, R.W.P. –ed.) members, consummating their split by, we quote, "calling an emergency conference in Toronto on April 11th. This conference will name a temporary executive committee and a delegate to the 4th World Congress. It will also discuss ways and means to carry on the tasks of the Canadian section of the Fourth International."

This document arrived on Thursday, a day following their April 7 walkout from a regularly convened Toronto branch meeting. The branch had just turned down a motion by Fitzgerald that the Rose group be accepted as members of the party and was considering a motion which read as follows —"in view of the fact that the leaders of the minority and the majority had jointly agreed to freeze the membership of the party until after the convention which would actually prohibit acceptance of this application until then, an in view of the past relation that these comrades have had with the movement — only two months ago they called for a split from our movement to their "Committtee for the Socialist Regroupment of Canada" — with comrade Kelly in particular having a long record of disruption of the Canadian section and its work; that we refuse this application at this time with the understanding that following the convention should these comrades still signify their wish to become part of the Toronto branch that we are prepared to go through a series of experiences to test their adherence to a discipline of an organization based on the principles of orthodox Trotskyism." Fitzgerald, with the defeat of his motion and making the statement that the majority refused to recognize the "real relationship of forces in Canada," (sic) led the walkout of the three other members of the minority in attendance.

In the face of this motion the Pabloite document claims that J.V. Kelly and his supporters, his wife, sister and friend were refused readmission into the party "on the grounds that they support the International." Kelly is perhaps better known a Rose. No better characterization of the Rose group need be made than the one made by its present day collaborators, McAlpine-Fitzgerald in a statement to the party February 6, 1954 — just two months ago. At that time they said: "Joe Rose is not unknown to the members of our party. He led a faction which took a sectarian position on entry into the mass movement. After the last convention on the promise to act in a disciplined manner he was even given a place on the NC and PC. He used this position to disrupt the work of the party both in the unions and in the CCF. Over a year ago he became more or less inactive and he finally resigned from the party about eight months ago. He has now seized upon the dispute in the International to further disrupt the Canadian party and its work."

The April 8th document, signed by Fitzgerald-McAlpine and Wilson (the latter already a week in Europe, and mailed with the return address of J.V. Kelly, will have a familiar ring to comrades unfortunate enough to have had previous dealings with the Rose tendency. The document is a conglomeration of half truths, distortions, and downright lies. The Canadian Pabloite minority has found its way into an unprincipled combination with the Rose group;

though principled in their common liquidationist policy, unprincipled in the face of the Roseites' past role in the Canadian party.

We will proceed to expose the Rose-Pab1oite document as a tissue of lies, using their own words as much as possible, the following manner —

1) the "so-called" convention — (a) "called in haste" – (b) "without any political resolution" — (c) "against the expressed will of the NC members who support the International" — (d) "for which the majority has arranged a mechanical majority... without authority..."

2) the question of the "real relationship of forces in Canada" – (a) "called in haste." The convention was originally called by the PC on February 21st. As the importance of the International dispute became apparent the question of where the Canadian section stood on the issues was posed before the PC. Because of the extreme difficulty of arranging a convention due to finances, vast distances separating us, there had been some talk of holding eastern and western regional conferences. However, in the face of McAlpine's statement that he would never be disciplined by regional conferences, the PC quickly reached unanimity in the realization that the issues necessitated a convention regardless of the difficulties.

The discussion, at least in the Toronto group, had been already underway two months by the time the convention call went out proposing a convention two months later on. The PC was unanimous in the opinion that the party should take a stand on the international dispute before and in the face of the date that had been set for the 4th World Congress – at that time scheduled to take place sometime early in May. The date of the Canadian section convention was set in consideration of this factor and to accommodate Fitzgerald, the leading minority spokesman who was leaving for Europe April17th.

(b) called "without any political resolution." At a meeting of the PC called to discuss convention documentation an informal division of labor was arrived at. The minority informed the PC that it would be presenting two documents for the convention — one on the CCF and the other on the international question. The national secretary, a member of the majority fraction agreed to prepare a document on our national tasks and perspectives. His document, the Kane document, has been circulated throughout the party. The minority produced neither of its promised documents — it never even issued a statement of their faction's objectives other than the infamous policy statement of March 29 saying in effect that they were going to split from the party. And they cry about the lack of documentation!

(c) called "against the expressed will" of the minority. Preparations for the convention were underway. Peace reigned over the question of resolving the dispute by convention, in spite of developing sharpness on the political question. But suddenly, in the face of the Canadian section`s refusal to carry out the IEC's 14th plenum order to decapitate the party, Pablo saw the handwriting on the wall — that the Canadian party, weighing his politics, was going to find them lacking. This was made clear to him by the minority's stand on the matter of implementing the 14th plenum decree that leading NC members be suspended from their posts that our last convention elected them to. Comrades Kane-Williams moved a motion on the PC—NC that we refuse to implement the 14th plenum edict. McAlpine-Fitzgerald abstained. When asked to

clarify their position, we quote the January 26 PC minutes: “Fitzgerald stated that he was in complete agreement with the suspension of comrade Kane from the IEC (International Executive Committee of the F.I. – ed.) and as for the IEC directive that comrades Kane, Thorne and Williams be suspended from the NC of the Canadian party, he stated that due to the nature of our party, because of its political level this instruction was inoperative.”

So Pablo veered slightly on his course. We received a letter from the IS dated Feb. 22 which was circulated throughout the party asking us to “PARTICIPATE IN THE WORLD CONGRESS… ADJOURN YOUR FINAL DECISION AFTER HAVING HEARD THE REPORTS OF YOUR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE WORLD CONGRESS.” In other words decide after you have committed yourself. In line with Pablo’s letter, the minority began to seize upon and magnify every difficulty that stood in the path of the preparation of the convention. They suddenly introduced into the PC a motion that the convention be called off. A vote was called on the NC and the majority voted that we go ahead. The vote was 5 to 3, all the western delegates voting that we proceed. Yes! — the arrangement went on against the newly revised and re-expressed will of the minority; against all their sabotage and feeble attempts to trick the party with Pablo’s new criteria for international relationships.

(d) the convention is “without authority...” not representative. Under cover of this accusation the Pabloites try to indicate that their rights have been infringed. The facts are that the party bent over backwards to assure full freedom of expression of all views — including the minority’s. The party circulated all the bulletins. The only branch where the minority came up against the majority, Toronto, turned over all its educational activities for at least four months to a wide open discussion on the differences. The minority was given the opportunity to choose what it desired to discuss meeting after meeting. A special meeting was arranged to hear a leading spokesman of the Cochranites in spite of the fact that the Cochranites were working with elements hostile to the party.

In the PC discussion of where to hold the convention it was the opinion of Kane-Williams that the convention would be more representative of the party and it would be more in the long range interests of the party in the cementing of relations, that it be held in Vancouver. The minority did not challenge any of the arguments advanced by the majority to hold it in Vancouver. They only protested that in view of the fact that they had no supporters in the West that their delegation would have no opportunity for consultation of any continuous character with their faction if it were held in Vancouver. They also showed unwillingness to make whatever arrangements would be necessary to assure that they had delegates at a Vancouver convention. The majority comrades in the East thereupon agreed to hold the convention in Toronto. Vancouver telegraphed that they were agreeable to a Toronto convention and named their delegates.

The Pabloite document points out that Prince Rupert “will not be represented” at the convention. A convention in Toronto would apparently exclude PR representation — this was one of the majority reasons for wanting it to be held in Vancouver. But the Pabloites insinuate that the majority excluded PR representation perhaps because PR supported their position. Comrade Pierce wrote “I agree with Cannon’s advice to Goonewardene, that we should press for

a postponement (of the 4th WC) until the question has been fully discussed in all sections. If such a request was successful then a Canadian convention could be called at a later date. If the request is unsuccessful I am still in support of going ahead with the present plans for a Canadian meeting." This in face of the fact that he could not attend the eastern convention, timed and located to suit the minority.

As to the charge that "No provisions were made for representation from Montreal or Windsor who support the International," little need be said. There is only one party member in Montreal, Comrade Wilson, as a member of the NC automatically has full rights to speak and cast a consultative vote. To top it off it is common knowledge that he was 1eaving for France a week prior to the agreed upon convention date and would be there for at least a month. How provisions could be made for Wilson to be at a convention the majority has no idea… this matter is in Wilson's hands.

As for Windsor: there are two comrades there who have had next to no relations with the party for an extended period. These comrades had not participated in any of the discussions. The question of representation of what are in effect members at large was not even discussed at any stage — such a matter is for the convention credentials committee. The cry about representation was not raised at any time by the minority while they remained in the party — it is entirely new to us. Fitzgerald-McAlpine were quite in agreement with the convention call which set down the basis of representation — a delegate for the first three members, etc. The one place where there was a discussion on minority-majority representation was in the Toronto branch. There the majority conceded in advance a 3 : 2 representation although the actual relationship of forces only called for a 2 : 1 representation.

Some further explanation should be given for the Pabloite about-face to the Rose group. This is properly point 2 — "the real relationship of forces." For anyone who knows the facts about the Rose group and the past relationship they have had with the party it comes as a bit of a shock to see them referred to as part of the real relationship of forces of Trotskyism in Canada. Indeed our Pabloites only came to this realization of theirs very recently and only dared to put it down on paper in the document with which we are dealing.

Early in our discussion , months after the Rose group of their own free will deserted our party, nearly everyone in the party received a statement from the "Committee for the Socialist Regroupment of Canada." This committee was the old familiar Rose group in a new dress. This Committee suddenly intervened in our dispute as full-fledged supporters of Pabloism and calling for a split from our party — let the Cannonite "dead bury its own," they said. Fitzgerald-McAlpine and supporters were vehement in demarking themselves from Rose and were in full support of the PC statement which we quoted above. However political positions rarely come into being full blown.

The Pabloite faction started their fight on the organizational question — screaming about the Open Letter, claiming that the political differences were inconsequential. On this basis it was quite logical that they should extend their organizational formalism on the international plane to the necessary formal relations within the national section — they condemned Rose as a sectarian

opponent to our main orientation and as a thief of party property. But politics have their own logic.

Though it was as hard as pulling hen's teeth the political differences did come oat. Time after time in defence of Pablo's liquidationism they gradually forced themselves to realize that they were no loner at home in our party, finally refusing "to be a part, even as an objecting minority, to any actions that would strengthen the hand of Cannonism…" They made this statement in honest recognition of what the real relationship of forces in the party itself were — in recognition of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people to have held onto the party, who are attempting to build it, wanted the party to go to the International Committee. Thus their change in relations with the Rose group.

In the first stage their emphasis on the organizational question would not permit them to have relations with persons they themselves agreed were enemies of the party. But as the differences became clearer it became increasingly apparent (and important) that they were, as we had warned them, in political agreement with the Rose group. It became apparent that Rose really was a Pabloite. It became important because Pablo needed a group here in Canada that he could label as the Canadian section of the Fourth International in contradistinction to the real section. The international Pabloites already had relations with Rose — at the very time that Fitzgerald-McAlpine were condemning him a sectarian disrupter. He was distributing their bulletins far and wide and doing art work for the Cochranite American Socialist.

And so one of the new realities that they present to us is a totally new conception of what is involved in establishing the real relationship of forces in Canada. Their formula is — take whatever you can gather together in the party – combine with anyone on the basis of liquidationism without examining their bona-fides – pad gently with all the dead wood you can find — paint with Pablo's brush of recognition — and then thrust this abortion forward under the label of Canadian Trotskyism.

How one can only claim to have the support of just 35 per cent of the Canadian Trotskyists and at the same time claim to be the Canadian section of the Fourth International we do not know. The majority has not and never will concede the banner of the Fourth International to anyone let alone a group of persons who call for the junking of the old Trotskyism. Not only are they not the Canadian section of the Fourth 1nternational but they are not anything like "the majority of Trotskyists in the industrial east" or 35% of the party nationally. To our knowledge they have not one supporter in the West — Vancouver is one hundred per cent International Committee; the same goes for Lloydminster (Alberta), Magna Bay (B.C.) and every place we have heard from. In the East they have one person in Montreal , two persons in Windsor, and they took five persons out of the Toronto branch. We can only speculate as to how they manipulate this into 35% of the Canadian party and the Eastern Canada majority. However it is apparent that the 4-person Rose group must be considered by them a part of our party. We have heard that they claim three in Montreal. We can only think that they have had the audacity to count in two persons who have always looked upon themselves as sympathizers of the party. We have had no information that tells us that these comrades look upon themselves as supporters of Pabloism — in the past they have opposed the defence of the USSR. We have heard that they

claim not two but three in Windsor. Who this third person could be we do not know unless they have had the audacity to count in a long time sympathizer with whom the party has had no contact for several years and whose political views are unknown to us.

The Canadian Pabloists, despite having been granted full minority rights in the Canadian section of the Fourth International, have deserted our ranks. Perhaps we can pause this long to concern ourselves for the sake of the information of comrades less involved than we. Perhaps we may even pause a second to remember the contributions these people made before their degeneration.

Now we must march on.

THE WORLD REVOLUTION AWAITS THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ORTHODOX INTERNATIONAL TROTSKYISTS.

THE CANADIAN SECTION BEARS THIS BANNER

Toronto April 12, 1954

The Toronto Labor Bookstore
62½ Elm Street
Toronto

April 23, 1954

The Sask Commonwealth

Dear Friends;

Enclosed is my cheque for $4 to be applied to my bundle account Havent received any bills from you folks for sometime and the amount outstanding must be much higher but this will cut it down some.

I am also enclosing a letter which I hope you will consider worth while publishing. I know that it is quite a demand on the editor because of its length however I have tried to cut it down to a more suitable size but feel that since it approaches the problem from quite a different view that on this occasion you will let there be an exception

fraternally

Ross Dowson

1954-Apr23

62-1/2 Elm Street, Toronto

April 23, 1954

To the Editor; (of the monthly CCF Saskatchewan Commonwealth –ed.)

The explosion of the H-bomb points up the crisis confronting civilization. There is no doubt, as a resolution just passed by an assembly in Regina declares, that we are threatened "with catastrophe to the human race together the disintegration not only of civilization but of large sections of the physical world."

But what is to be done in the face of this? Some kind of agreement by the rulers of the most powerful sections of the globe has been proposed. But we are not without experience with such agreements. Lorne Ingle recently wrote a column in the Commonwealth on a previous agreement arrived at by the world's rulers. I am referring to the Yalta agreement. At that conference of world powers, while Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin and our own Mackenzie King were waving the promises of the Atlantic Charter, in the words of Churchill himself, they planned the division between themselves of all Central Europe and the Balkans in cynical contempt of the wishes and needs of the millions of people immediately concerned. That conference of the world's rulers laid part of the basis of the present crisis confronting us.

Can we expect something better from Eisenhower than we got from Roosevelt, something better from Eden than Churchill, or from Malenkov than Stalin? When employers get together unions alert themselves to danger. Nothing good for the peoples of the world, experience seems to tell us, can come out of any conference of rulers over the people.

The outlawry of atomic weapons has been suggested. Even if our rulers were prepared to make such an agreement there should be small comfort for us in it. Nuclear weapons certainly make a future war more hideous — more hideous than one fought with napalm bombs, buzz bombs, blockbusters, and fire bombs. But this does not make a war limited to fighting with the latter weapons acceptable. And could we have any confidence that such an agreement would amount to anything more than a scrap of paper? Germany under Hitler was forced to agree to building no major battleships but out of that prohibition came the pocket battleships. The Kellogg-Briand disarmament pact did not stand in the way of the forces that exploded in World War II.

A frank appraisal of the situation would seem to lead us to the conclusion that these proposals are somewhat utopian — in that they do not really get down to the roots of the matter. At its Fifth Convention the CCF adopted a resolution which read in part: "the principal causes of war in the modern world are to be found in the present forms of economic competition: the struggle for raw materials and markets, the exploitation of less highly industrialized areas by rival imperialisms..." This is as true today as when it was passed in 1938. The task it seems to me is to find ways of developing a program in conformity with this understanding.

Since the H-Bomb points up so clearly to humanity the danger that confronts us, what do your readers think of our raising the demand that the people and the people alone should have the power to decide the questions of war and peace? Take the war-making powers away from those in whom we can have no confidence! Everything else we vote on fades into insignificance before this matter. Why not demand that there shou1d be a referendum of the people on the question of war and peace? In solidarity with our German co-thinkers who have opposed re-armament of their old enemies in their own country, why don't we call for the withdrawal of Canadian troops now stationed in Germany which in essence re-arm that country without the people being consulted. And what about Canadian troops still stationed in Korea so dangerously close and available for action in Indo-China?

Ross Dowson

April 29, 1954

Dear Jean;

Suprised that you havent heard from Murray and Jeanette yet. They left on schedule shcedule April 17, I think it was. Not suprised now though when I put the date down as I would suppose it would take them about 10 days to make the crossing and they would mmyk only now have landed and got into London. I would suppose you have someway of contacting them through Collins

Much has happened since you left though things have tappered off in the last week. Your friends left the club a few days after you left. All the time they were pretending to be going along with us towards our get-together, reluctantly of course for how decisions were going to go was clear, but they pretended to be going along nonetheless. We were financing three persons all the way here, bankrupting ourselves etc. Then suddenly, and claiming your complete OK they pulled a fast one. Remember how Kelly tried to thrust Monroe in just before the last get-together. Well,this time Fitzgerald tried to thrust Kelly in. Oh yes Fitz had agre agreed to freeze the club membership until the get together. Oh yes he had drawn up a statement condemning Kelly as being opposed to our orientation and a theif of our property. But suddenyl we had to have him. We said no--wait until afterwards and we will consder. But this suddenly became the issue of all issues and the four walked out. The very next mail brought us a statement signed by you and the other two claiming the get-together wasnt representative because of all things you wouldn't be there, becausesince it was held here PR wouldn't be present although as you know we wanted it to be out there and because it didn't represent the real relationship of forces. You know what the real relationship offorces are? Well they claim to have the majority in the East. I dont mind counting Don although he hasnt worked with us for at least four years but I gag a bit on M who no one has heard from for over 6 years. It suddenly appears that there are three in Montreal aside from yourself. ME ass sympathizers will be suprised and I havent worked out the other one unelss E is pregnanet or Dion has been transformed. Of course Kelly has taken everything over. A week ago we received a missle(I dont know why they send them) truly drawn up in the old manner. They no longer talk about being the majority here or there---they have the seal, they are it. They didn't walk out--I and a few stooges deserted and things go on under Kelly's tutelage as before. Of course the loss of Houston and McAlpine hasnt effected us at all. We quickly replaced them and we are on the verge of adding a few more. On the whole it has been a good experience and resulted inma sort of purification for as you know McAlpine is a sectarian and Houston --well I dont think he will be with anyone very long now.

Houston -McAlpine are working hard now in the service of the right wing. Houston is going to testify that Stewart is over the youth age limit and he is being kicked out. A friend of ours came around here the other day and told me that he had had a visit from Houston--it appears that he is making the rounds telling people to keep away from,here,that the persons here are in the mass movement to disrupt and split it. Of course we are only conducting ourselves in the same way as we have laways and as we were with everyone's agreement. They however are conducting themselves quite different. Houston is putting forward resolutions calling for

of a character which we have all along opposed as inadequate. When we state our old criticism he is most vigours in attack on us. There appears to have been some talk in the youth tops about kicking him out however this was quashed with the argument that he is reforming himself and has broken from the gang around here. He is voicing this latter information far and wide--as for us we just keep rolling along. Very shortly I am thinking we wont be hearing anything about them--at anyrate they seem hell bent in making the relationship a definitive one.

Had a bang up social last week-Paddy got drunk as a lord--Dick was there and he is coming back.

I gather the money is holding out ok. Too bad you missed Ellen. It would have been good to see her. Who would I see? I would see the Lavender Hill mob. I gather Jerry has a lot to tell you about developments there. They are reaching the decisive turning point.

warmest regards

Ross

May 13, 1954 ✓

Vincent Devine

Jimmy = James P. Canavan? 1405

Buffalo or (Surf, New York)

Dear Friends;

We received Vince's letter suggesting that you might be able to arrange it so that Jimmy could come up here for a visit.

We have talked this matter over and are now very anxious that arrangements, in fact commitments, be made for him to visit us. We see from the press that he will be in your area from May 19 to June 3

We would like to know whether he would be free to be here Friday or Saturday evening May 21 Or 22. Or if the tour is flexible-June 4 or 5th. And last choice since a couple of us already have commitments to be out of town then-May 28 or 29th.

All three choices you will note fall on either a Friday evening or Saturday evening. Our plan is this. ..... Since Jimmy is an author and of a book which we have been making a modest effort to promote we think it would be quite reasonable for me a proprietor of the bookstore to invite him up for a sort of informal evening at the bookstore where he would autograph copies of the book and give a talk of say about 30 to 40 minutes on the his case and the US witch hunt. We would want the affair to be quite informal. There would be no general publicity but persons with whom I am acquainted and their friends would be invited to drop in. I would appear as the host, introducing Jim to everyone, then making a sort of informal introduction, he would speak, and then everybody could mix around in informal conversation Tea, coffee and biscuits could be served.

We think that such an affair would be very valuable for us. We dont know what you have lined up for Jim there. Possibly the trip up here might be too much of a strain on him. At anyrate we are leaving the matter in your hands now that we have stated the case.

Would you phone us just as soon as you are in a position to know what can be done. Since we would want about three days notice and it would appear that Jim wont be there until the 19th it looks like May 21 Or 22 is out. Incidently if you have them to spare we could probably use about 20 copies of his book .We have sold out our first order and our new order has not yet arrived. Of course it may come in by the night that you arrange for us. During the last phone call making detail arrangments you might try to remember to ask as to whether our shipment has come in.

We can provide accomodation for anyone who comes up with Jim, including a stay over the week-end if Jim has the time.

Would you phone me just as soon as you know where we stand.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

May 14, 1954

Dear Farrell; (SWP, New York) Block-? Iceland-Canada?

I am enclosing a copy of our recent minutes along with a letter that flows from them. The minutes explain the reasoning behind the letter. Since our meeting and the writing of the letter we have received the voluminous correspondence that you have been kxxix carrying on with Jim and Block. I think that our letter is in harmony with the various thoughts expressed. However we are sending you the original of the letter along with a carbon copy. We would like you to send the original copy to Pablo's committee. The carbon copy is for your files. Should you have some doubts about the advisability of this letter going out from Iceland just hold it up and drop us a line.

Just a few words in further explanation of our letter. We have not xxxxxxxx had any news from Pablo since some weeks before the split of his supporters. [redacted] To our knowledge the Canadian Pablists have not been recognised as the Canadian section. It is highly probable that Pablo is purposely not going through this process as he did in the British dispute with the 14th Plenum. The Icelandic situation is somewhat of an embarassment—running completely contrary to all his unity talk. I think that we must take every advantage that we can of this difficulty that Iceland presents him with. Just what the dispute between Pablo and the Cochranites will lead to I do not know but there is not much doubt in my mind that the Cochranites forced the struggle here. It is possible that Pablo would have xxxxxxx adopted a slower course towards the same end. What with the disput between Pablo and Cochran our Pablists may be torn apart even sooner than we had contemplated. This division among the Pablists should in my mind also be explited to t the full and possibly tiny Iceland has some use.

We are getting together in a day or so to discuss all the recent correspondence so I will make no comments at this time.

Glad to get the material on the French experience even though very late and Paolism is a dead issue in our circles now. It is difficult to realise that it is only a month since our Pablists walked out on us. It seems much much longer. It has had no effect on us in anyway but for the good---we have recruted three people since they left—the first for a long time.

fraternally

(Paul) Kane. (Ted D.)

Meeting May 18, 1954
Present- Kane, Williams, May and James
Since there has been no correspondence dealing with any of the concrete motions in the April 25 minutes the PC assumes that all proposals have the approval of the NC and are to be acted upon.
Minutes of the April 25 meeting read and adopted.
Draft letter to Pabloite IEC Commission read and approved. Informal discussion on correspondence from IC on their attitude toward the Pabloite commission gesture. It was agreed that their attitude generally conforms to ours and that our letter is in harmony with it. Correspondence on the IC meeting in London available to PC members. Motion by Williams that we establish formal relations with the International Committee of the Fourth International, & that the secretary contact them committee to learn just what character the IC desires the relation that sections associated with it should take on(finances, etc.) passed unanimously. The secretary reported that $41 has already been turned over to the IC, that certain information on developments here have been sent on to the Ic in Paris, and that we have been in correspondence with New Zealand now for sometime, sending them copies of our minutes etc.
Correspondence from Vancouver on the suggested date of a national convention. They are in complete agreement with the proposal that it be held August 6-7-8. Facilities available are more than adequate and they are already in the process of making contact with closer out of town points to assure ther attendance. Letter from Peirce--doubts their ability to attend however he suggests that our proposed dates"are as suitable as any." Motion that we go ahead with the convention in Vancouver on the proposed dates and that we issue the convention call immediately...passed unanimously.
Correspondence from Peirce. Kane reported that on April 22 and on May 5 he wrote to Peirce to ascertain from him as to where he stood now that the minority has split from the party and set themselves up as an opposition group. Peirce's name appeared in a Pabloite report of their conference as a member of their NC as part of their attempt to make it appear that they were carrying on the section and Kane and a few others were the minority who split away. Kane's correspondence read and it was agreed that his letters place the issue very clear before Peirce as to where he stands--with us or with them. Peirce's reply however reads as follows- " Organizationally there seems to me many things that do not add up in the American documents but I find I cant go along with a 'new World reality' despite changes of relationship of forces since the war. Have written J. Rose of my position which should clear any ambiguity." General agreement that this reply by Peirce far from adequate and there were some suggestions that we should press the issue to a showdown at once. Motion by Kane that we do not press this matter to a showdown in view of the fact that the convention is only a little more than two months away and there will be an opportunity to discuss this matter over thoroughly--that we carry on our routine correspondence with Peirce , that we send him no further minutes and that we send to Vancouver the copies of our correspondence as information, passed unanimously.
Correspondence from Vancouver enquiring as to whether we have frequent contact with isolated comrades, particularly in view of the fact that the Pablists are sending out material far and wide. It was reported that all bulletins have been going to isolated comrades whether they can afford to pay for them or not. The James document in reply to the first Pablist effusion went out to all members at large. The Lloydminster group has expressed their solidarity with the forces of the International Committee as has Magna Bay. Moon Lake's correspondence is generally in support of our position. Have had no correspondence from Britannia and Wiseton for many months although we have been sending them documents and personal letters . M.L., whom Thorne contact a few weeks ago allowed our correspondence to break over two or three years ago. Brady now on his way to the Coast has signified his intention to drop in on as many of them as possible. It was agreed that a leisurely tour back from the convention, so that all former friends and contacts of the party could be visited would tie up this situation.
Ontario mass movement convention. It was reported that the Toronto group comrades who are delegates are meeting prior to the convention for a detailed discussion on tactics. It was suggested that we might consider widening this meeting to include delegates from mass movement clubs who happen to be close to us. It was agreed that all likely persons referred to above would take our lead both through contact with Kane and at the convention. It was agreed that we give them our lead in this way and through the line that we take in the broader left

wing caucus that will in all probability be meeting during the convention.
Question of the New Zealand tour on last meetings agenda has been taken up by Toronto who are making arrangements for a semi-public gathering where contacts and friends will be able to meet the tourist and obtain autographed copies of his book
Williams membership in mass movement has been referred back by the provincial secretary to the local club for their recommenation. It was agreed that we make no moves to contact council members until we hear the stand that the club takes.
Secretary informed meeting that he had written Jerry to find out about their experience with co-op and had been informed that he would receive information we asked following settlement of dispute there May 15th. Further discussion on the co-op scheme. Motion that we table this matter until further information is received
Minutes of three Vancouver meetings received. It was agreed that we should ask the secretary ~~for~~ to ease up on the security angle so that we could obtain a clearer picture of some of the group's problems, reference was made to section in minutes dated 13/4/54 which was quite unclear

. Williams reported that Toronto minutes are not yet going out due to lack of a typewriter to draw them up in duplicate.

-30-

Friday , 21 May. 1954

(Dunn, SWP, New York)

Dear Vince;

Thanks for the quick reply.

Saturday evening May 29th will be excellent for us...and of course if Jim can possibly spare the time and would like to look this fair section of the globe over we would be pleased to have him stay over the Sunday. We have thought the matter over of trying to arrange some other profitable venture than the Staruday evening talk and have come to the conclusion that there are no other possibilities that could be explo ited. The Kutcher case just isn't known in this country—in fact the witch hunt is not an issue except for advanced workers—its supposed to be something American-Yanks

So——we expect of Jim that he should be prepared to give about a 45 minute talk about his experience. I will give a short introduction. The majority of the audience will be fairly advanced—they will all be socialistsof some degree so Jim should adjust his talk accordingly—[illegible] It will be handled very informally and we are expecting the audniece to hang around asking Jim questions etc.

Our shipment from England has arrived so it is best that he bring no books across whatsoever—he should empty his car just in case the border authroities poke around. It would seem to me that he will have no difficulty getting across—particularly if h he only appears to be going to see the Canadian side of the Falls and drive around a bit. We would like to start about 8 to 8;30. Possibly you could come over fairly early and we could have supper togther at someone's home

All success with your May 22 venture.

I see that things went well with us in England—we smashed them in the fight for the paper with a vote 297 to 211.

fraternally

Ross

May 21, 1954

between delegate + alternate

Dear Reg

Sorry to be so long in picking up your last letter. I have at the side of the typewriter here the beginnings of a letter dated a way back May 8th. Right now we are busy getting things lined up for our contribution to the mass movement convention. It opens up tonight. We will have 5 delegates, a couple are alternates but there is really no difference. On top of that there are three or four persons extremely close to us who are also delegates. The resolutions are I would say generally the most leftist that have been pulled together since the depression days. ...to a large extent this is so through the failure of the right wing to present other than a few and our energetic submission of ours. Unfortunately there are very very few copies of the lists of resolutions around. Last night we only had one copy to go through in a preliminary talk---or I would send you one to look over.

Contrary to my usual custom I do not have your last letter at hand. Williams has it I think. There has been all kinds of material on the international dispute coming in and I gave him your letter along with a batch of this material and he has neglected to return it.

Which brings to my attention a question I have wanted to raise for somewhile. When the dispute was at its peak here and in the south I understand you were getting all kinds of material from the South. Are you still getting their tops minutes, JRC-Smith correspondence etc? I would like to know so that I [redacted] know whether I should pass our copies onto you out there after they have made our rounds. Do you get IB's direct? I have just sent copies of the last south IB...should I continue to do so? Incidently we really should make some financial arrangements about them as we have to pay for them in advance from the general funds.

I have sent either you or B--- a copy of an Pabloite bulletin and some correspondence with Peirce. I hope you agree with our recommendation as to handling of Peirce. A bit ridiculous that he should not give us a straight forward answer to what are certainly straight forward questions. Of course he was never at any time too closely tied to us--very much a syndicalist. Probably hoping that in someway the whole thing will straighten itself out in someway.. I cant see any point in putting him to the wall, pressing any further that is. We may well get an answer that we dont want if we press further at this time and it is highly possible as he lives a little to use Murray M's phrase --that is until our convention, he will at last understand it all. I am convinced that we should not send him material about us. Wilson was in town the other day and let it out that our Cdn Pablists have a copy of the James article, [redacted] I cant think where they would have got it other than from Peirce. Possibly he sent it to them without malice--just to hear what they have to say--but I can see no reason why we should send him any of our internal material until we settle the matter out in Van this summer. We should continue to send him bulletins etc that will shake him

The Cochran-Collins dispute with Pablo is a good development. Cant help but aid those who are wavering to understand the unprincipled character of this gang. I hear from Wilson that our Pablists are [redacted] Cochranite--not that they are [redacted] of any interest to us any longer. It is hard to realize that only a little more than a month has passed since we were together in the same group. Our meetings go along without as much as a suggestion that anyone has left us, that there are any persons in the CCF who are challenging us for the adherence of, the left(we only meet one of them in the youth group

Yes, I think that the James item does a fairly good job on the communications that they have flooded us and ex-uses with. I do not believe we have any reason to say anything more about them unless for instance they should come out with some serious political document ~~xxxx~~--not at all likely in my opinion from my knowledge of these people. As a matter of fact it is my opinion that they will not be able to live unless we pay some attention t to them. That is what is behind their flooding the mails with their crap. Several of our people down here have got on the phone and asked Rose to kindly cease sending them his crap. I think rather than correcting wrong addresses it might ~~not~~ be a good idea to discourage them in their infantile politics by some of you out there just dropping them a line to the effect that their crap is of no interest and they would do well to save their money for all day suckers. We had the impression that immediately that they split they would be going out to see all the party contacts selling themsubs to the American Socialist, spreading their crap. This impression was confirmed by the first few party contacts and ex-members that we visited. But in the past month we have been getting out a little more and it seems that they have hardly done anything with this. I really dont think that they are long for this world.

A word about Wilson---he dropped in for a few hours just fresh from his trip to Europe before returning back to Montreal . Terribly disappointed with the reception that he got there from his fellow Pablists. It seems that they paid no attention to him--no one took him around the big city etc. He was not even told about the Cochranite dispute wit h Pablo. He says he went around to the [redacted] Bleibtreu hdqtrs twice but no one was there. He hopped over to London and met Collins. In an extravagant moment he dismissed Germain and even Pablo as persons way up in the clouds compared to Collins. Wilson is of course quite friendly and somewhat apologetic for the way things have gone---that is organizationally. But he is really and truly a Pabloite...much more so than Fitzgerald. Wilson is really and truly a Deutcherite and has been one for many years. However in so far as he is not too serious when it comes to political theory he wishes to maintain a good relationship with us.. At anyrate he can easily escape from the practical implications of his views which are mainly emotional, for he will be in Montreal and a free agent, totally unworried by the problems of his co-thinkers, the majority of whom he looks upon as useless persons.

Good to hear about your trip to Byrons and the young couple that you met there. Byron just ceased answering all mail from here about three years ago. White has not answered any mail from here for about a year and a half anyway. Do you have any contact with him at all. Is he still working at Britannia? I have been sending him bulletins ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to the old address --for a while I sent them with my return address but none came back so I suppose he is receiving them alright. It is very difficult for comrades isolated as they are, to maintain a correspondence with the center. The main reason for this of course has been their inability to carry out our orientation. We will recement all these connections with the August get-together.

I see that you are having a provincial convention this next month. If I recall correctly it is a section of the minutes touching on this that brought about the discussion on the tops about the minutes in general. I suppose we are not in too good a position to talk since you have been receiving no Toronto minutes--we will rectify this with the next elections--we will get a secretary that types and then we will be able to send you carbon copy. However the one big thing that I feel lacking in our contact is the shortage of information about your work and its problems. This work in the mass movement is quite difficult and we would really like to have the benefit of your experiences, how you are developing our ideas, etc. I recall from your last letter that you are working on such a letter. Following this convention I think I will raise the matter of our recording a discussion on it and the line we attempted to follow. Possibly this might be followed by you ~~xxit~~ after the June convention.

We are really looking forward to receiving something from you out there as a contribution to the pre-convention discussion. I am hoping that you will have something to add to the P Kane document or possibly some criticisms of it to make. I am hoping to get to work this week end on some more material but it would be really good for the movement if you folks out there were to put some of your thoughts down for discussion.

There are several political matters that I want to take up with you however I must really get this off right now or it will be postponed possibly another week and I have been holding your copy of the minutes sometime .

We came through in Br with flying colours. Really routed them. Jerry says the vote was finally 297 to 211. Lawrence has resigned as editor. The fight was a tough one and very dirty. It appears that a real organized gang of Stalinists worked with Lawrence against us. Then nominations for the new management committee came up they howled out Trotsky, Churchill and Dulles. There will of course be lots more inofmration coming through

Meeting June 7, 1954
Present—Kane, Williams, May and James.
Minutes of May 18 read and adopted
BC mass movement convention—secretary reported that we had just received a copy of the resolutions that have been present by various clubs for adoption at the coming provincial convention. Comrade Kane gave a condensation of the various resolutions that are coming up. Few resolutions of a class character on provincial matters, many resolutions are frontal attacks on the present leadership raising the struggle to some extent to that of one for leadership although there appears to be little to rally any extensive forces around for such a struggle. Best resolutions are on the colonial revolutions—German re-armament—a good one for a national referendum on war. Kane reported that we have had no information of the tendencies developing in the BC section, nor have we had any reports from the West as to how our comrades see their work at this convention. General discussion. Kane instructed to write to the West along the line of the discussion, asking them for a full and detailed report of their stands at the convention and how they see things developing following the convention.
England- letter from Healy read. Motion that we send them greetings for their excellent struggle and success against the Pablists—passed. Motion that we clear up our account on the Kutcher and First Five years books to help them through in their financial difficulties—passed
International Committee- Motions passed at May 11th meeting of IC read and discussed. Motion that we endorse all the motions—passed. Letter from Smith read stating their agreement with the line of our letter drafted for submission to the Pablo ite Commission but pointing out that other IC supporters had agreed to by-pass this committee and to work through Ceylon. Smith suggests that the letter be redrafted for circulation by the IC. Kane read a copy of a letter from Smith to the IC(France,England) which said in part "Since the IC addresses itself only to the Ceylonese on the question of the Congress; we assume you are in agreement with our proposal to by-pass any direct reply to the Pablo ite IEC 'Appeal' and to use instead the medium of the Walter-Tilak correspondence which the Ceylonese obviously desire for their own reasons." Motion by Williams that in view of the fact that all others in the IC have agreed to by-pass the Pablo ite committee that we do not send the letter as originally drafted but work it over as suggested by Smith—passed.
Financial report by Kane. Motion to table discussion on report until next meeting—passed.
Discussion on recent recruitment in the Toronto branch and problem of integrating new members which in the light of the few older and experienced comrades presents an important problem. Motion that it be proposed to the branch that one of the more experienced and older comrades be appointed organiser—preferable Williams— the organizer taking on the responsibility of getting to know the new members intimately, their arena of work, their contacts etc.—passed.
Discussion on the Kane membership in the mass movement. Motion that we recommend to the Toronto branch that they explore the possibilities of circulating a petition within the Toronto mass movement supporting Kane's membership to be presented to the newly elected executive—passed.

meeting adjourned

June 26, 1954

Dear Bill; (W.)hite

It was very good to hear from you after such a long silence. I am enclosing a couple of notes that I had been holding off. I had heard that you were contemplating moving somewhile back and what with your failure to write I had more or less decided that it was possible you were not getting my mail. And of course it would be very bad if mail such as the enclosed got astray.

Glad to hear that you will be able to attend the family gathering. This one should be the most successful one we have ever had--having just come thro an internal dispute, and with almost three years of work in the mass movement behind us. The East should be well represented alhtough some of our plans for transportation have just been cancelled out by the developing economic difficultires of capitalism. We had planned to get out there in one of those Car deals --you drive a new car out for some dealer---but there are no cars going out thro the main dealer until December. So we are in the process of trying find some other way of getting a gang of us out there---we will be there you can count on it.

I hope that you received the main document that is up for discussion--on our work in the mass movement. Both here and in Van we are breaking the group down into grouplets so that the docuemtn can be gone over with a fine tooth comb, so that everyone can be sure that they understand it, before an open group discussion and we make any ammendments that may be necessary. We have no idea that there will be counter docuemtns or ammeddments as yet. It would be well if you were to go over it very closely prior to the gathering.

I would gather from your letter that you have recently been in Vancouver and so are probably more familiar than I with developments there. And I wont bother to go into any detail with how things go here as we will shortly be renewing acquaintace. However I might tell you that we are doing very weel down here. As you know Pablo took away four from the group here. This Wednesday night we will have made up our losses--we will have recruited our fourth new person., just a matter of a few months after the Pabloite desertion. The new comrades are excellent types, all of themactive and integratedin the mass political movement. Rose has taken over the Pabloites what with Fitzgerald having gone to Europe. We have no contact with them for they are pretty well isolated to one or two clubs and it so happens clubs that are very inactive They keep together around the American Socialist--published by the US Cochran. They should be having shortly some considerable internal political difficulties what with the conflict between Cochran and Pablo. I will be sending you the material on this anyday now when the bundle of documents arrive. Cochran has launched an vicious attack on Pablo and his IS--Pablo's reply has been suppressed by the Cochranites I gathhr from talking to one of our contacts who they have been trying to work on. They are working quite vigorously to influcne persons we are working on wherever they know of them and to influence persons in the braod left against us. One of their leading persons has already walked out on them--making complete peace with the mass movemtn bureaucracy --he has drawn all the conclusions of their line. But for the coalescing influcne that the Cochranites and their American Socialist give them our Pabloites would have brock apart in many directions.

Somwehere , somehow I did hear that Slat of the Earth was being brought inot the country. But I have heard nothing definite. I suppose you read the two

very laudatory reviews of it in the Militant. I am looking forward to seeing this film. should it come through. As a matter of fact I was sort of toying with the idea thatb it would be a good idea for us to bring it in, rent a hall and show it—however I feel certain that the UE or someother Stalinist influenced union will bring it into the Toronto area.

Thanks for the inofmration on Travis and Mine Mill. All news to me. We dont get the Mine Mill paper and noe of this inffrmation appears in another apepr that I read. There is little or no information on such developments in the BC CCF News and I have dropped the subscription on the Pacific Tribune both for monetary reasons and for the simple reason that I have found it hard to keep up with the Eastern Caandian Tribune and the many other papers that I try to read and file.

Our boys did quite an effective job at the recent Ontario convention of the mass movement. The broad"left" wing that we had been working along with and attempting to develop blew apart when the leader of it at this stage made a showdown issue of his prohibitionist views . We moved into the gap and your old side kick Paddy manged to poll 28 votes for the council. Another fellow working very close to us polled 53.

However I am going to close off now--seems hardly necessary to go into any detailed correspondence at this time as we will be renewing acquaintance within a month, But a last wpnd. Since I wrtoe the first part of this note I have come across a n item in this morning's paper on Salt of The Earth. It seems that a copy of the film is in Toronto right now, has been passed by the Board of Censors. However it has come up against the trade union bureaucracy. The leadership of the Projectionist Union here is holding up its showing until the local executive can discuss whetehr one of their boys will run it through the machines or not.

comradely

Ross

62 Elm St, J. Mitchell - date 1954

Sunday at Magna Bay
End of August

Dear Lois

I am typing this note up on a No 1 SmithPremier typewriter which is probably about twice as old as I will be even on the coming September 4.

Have made Magan Bay so far on the way back....on to Sicamous beautiful Lake Shuswap. All kinds of interesting things have been happening...mostly connected with civilization even though we have been travelling through areas where nature in the raw rules supreme. Three nights ago we slept in an old abandoned farm house..one that we picked from down the many dozens of abandoned farms that dot the road from Prince Alice were running around all night and while I was still awake early in the evening something big was sniffing around the door but all went well if you consider that both of us were more than ready to move on by about five o clock in the morning. As we looked back ominous barred clouds in various tones of blue and purple enfolded the deseted weed slab and timber buildings presenting a picture that is supposed to be typical of the lower Balkans and primited areas in Russia.

We have hit the waether off very well. We wnet up the Skena and down the Fraser with the sun, the first local inhabitant hdad had for months. Saw many awesome sights...snow capped mountains line the Skena You come out of the mountains and into the hills at Hazelton whre natur makes one grand final effort. There a big slab of rock jabs out and at the foot the Buckley river has cut a deep gorge out of the tree lined rock

We are managing to make out for money alright by selling books. Hugh was unable to sell the car so came up to Prince Rupert to drive us down to Kamloops in the austin and then leaving me here go back to Vancouver. It now looks like the sale will go through alright and the heat will be off us to sell socialist literature. If as they say the written word can shake the worldwe can in the future epect big things of the town of Telkwa and the town of Williams Lake...they are ur our biggest successes so far. Everyone in the Telkwa club and everyone but one in the Williams Lake area has a couple of peices of Trotskyist literature. That this literature could have some effect could be the o only possible claim to fame of these two little hamlets

Due to the ballex with the car and my happy optimism that saw us covering in a few hours what has actually taken us days we will be later coming into the big city that we had expected. The trip will probably take us another three weeks. In the meantime my expenses down there are continuing to pile up and I am wonderi ng if you could do me the favor if meeting two of them. When Hugh arrives tomorrow with 6 or 7 hundred dollars we could probably make sutiable arrangments or possibly Vern and others by a series of manipulations could cover them however I am thinking that you could probably meet them with a couple of scratchings of your name on cheques. ..which I could cancel out by a couple of scratchings upon my return

there are two cheques that should be paid

Harry wong 62 Elm street	$75.00
Ernescliffe Apartments Co Ltd	$52.00

to be mailed to THE IMPERIAL BANK
ELIZABETH NEAR DUNDAS ST WEST
In payment for rent apt 55

All together an itchy business so I am sure you will not mind scratching at bit. However should your hands be tied let JIm McIT chell know. I am writi g him a letter at this same time however he make think that I have forgotten these matters before he receives the leteter so it may be just as well to phone him about this matter anyway

At last I have found out what that rounded stone with the hole bored through it is for. It appears to be an anchor. The Bc Indians drilled many of them and strung them on a peice of hide or gut to anchor their canoes with

swam in the Thompson rivers at Kamloops yestersday...at the junction of the sout and the north Thompsons. very very nice...strong current. This is the first swim of the trip. The ocean wherever I was was murky dirty with weeds and other plant and animal life or too cold. Happend to nBE selling literature to Kamloops club members the night of their meeting which of course I was compleeled to attend. The meeting was very simi;ar to meetings in the Toronto area. Only a couple of members among the 12 there had anything to say. They stupidly and igornatly went along with the BC provincial leadership on the Rod Young affair which is setting many other clubs in Bc particularly on the Island afire Of course I had to say nothing. But they had no educational and they forced me to take the floor and tell them about CCF work in the East. Tried my best withi the limits of what I thought confronted me to give inspiration to wahtever hidden leftist tendencies might be there.

Have seen all kinds of totems...the best were at Prince Rupert. there are about 14 poles there , many of them first rate done in the highly stylized and apolished technique of the two in the Ontario Museum. On the way down the Fraser or possibly at the top of the Skena we came across one with red automobile reflectors woven into the theme

I am just about losing the last shred of confidence that I had in the system. The fare from Toronto to Winnipeg vai train is $34.75. I hitch hiked about 240 miles up to North Bay and spent over a dollar to make the last 15 miles. The fare from North Bay to winnipeg is ——you scored again...niw for the $64 question.....$34.75. We arrived in Winnipeg with ~~xxxx~~ not qite enough money to get a bus fare to Vancouver. Sooooo I started to hitch. However i have dweveloped a strong urge over the past 37 years to eat and continued to eat my way out of realizing the fare until I got to Nelson. Figured I had time to hitch to Trail and save a couple of bucks...arrived at Trail...same fare Trail to Vancouver as Nelson to Vancouver. Still searching for the poi nt where you can travel on the busses and trains for nothing since from Toronto to North bay saves nothing and Nelson to Trail saves nothing

Would you pass this note onto Jerry and Ruth...it is addressed to you in your capacity as got kicks. And how are you mneighbours doing ..you might tell them that they might as well stay on tell the middle of the month

warmest regards

the seond oldest and certainly not planned son

this typewriter has two sets of keys..one set caps the other lower case. You have to hit the keys dead on to get them to print anything. The red ribbon was much better than the black. Hope the errors dont cause you any trouble

E4 1944-57 MR

Oct 20/57

?-(Montreal) Baptist = ?
temperance friend = Bill Temple, High Park CCF leader

Dear Wilson

There is a tall story making the rounds these days which I think you will be interested in.

It seems that our Baptist friend has moved right on into the arms of the mass movement leadership, more than that he has signed affadavits that involve everyone that you have ever met around here.

The provincial secretary has told a friend of mine that he and others will be called upon very shortly--to answer fantastic stories that they are members of an opponent organization. According to the secretary my friend is supposed to have chaired some meeting is even supposed to have taken a certain side in a family dispute. I have just had a chat with a temperance friend of mine and it was he who told me that it was a Baptist put up job. And it was he that told me that you are involved along with a a female friend of mine who lived just a block or so from my apartment.

Of course everyone will have to make a blanket denial--it would be outrageous that evidance from this chameleon would be given any credit whatsoever. It is one word against another and look who the one is .I am sure that a good effort will be made here to clear away this matter. How your case will be handled is hard to say--probably on the findings arrived at here. To be forwarned is to be forearmed,n est ce pas?

fraternally

(R.D. dated this)

November 25, 1964

Dear Reg;

I am enclosing a copy of Paddy's statement to a sub-committee of the provincial executive which has been struck off to hear those who absented themselves from the November 13th trial. Everyone is going to absent himself---there is another statement being submitted by another two however I do not have time to copy it right now..it deals more with the legal aspects of the case and the nature of the hearing that those who appeared had. Here of course we are weakest.

Things are moving fast here. One of the youth who was exonerated by the adults has been expelled by the youth. The youth leadership passed a decision to lift the charter of any club that permitted the expellees around its meetings. We are doing everything in our power to conform to their decrees. The club has accepted these expulsions under protest; it is also, while stating its disagreement of the ban against the expelees going through the formality of informing the expelees of the leaderships' instruction that they are to stay away. A letter will be going to the leadership informing them that, under protest, these people are being stripped of their executive posts and of course will not be allowed to attend (closed) membership meetings. The leaderships' decree is of course that they attend no meetings of anykind---this club's meetings are all open meetings. The expellees will of course be attending the clubs meetings--they are the key people in the club. When the executive protests we will tell them that we have no control who attends the open meetings other than that the chairman will throw out anyone who disrupts the club in its work for the CCF youth. We will be throwing the police work onto those who pass the laws. They are of course going to lift the charter. As a matter of fact the secretary of the group was up to pay the rent to the CCF youth office which they use as meeting place and he was told by one of the top leaders that they are going to lift the charter and he had better, if he wants to go places in the movement, take out membership in anotour club. We will of course raise a little hell about this. But the club is going to be kicked out--how successful they will be in taking the weaker elements from under us is an unknown factor--that is, how much strength we will have to carry on an independent club which will be continually fighting to get back in is unknown. The youth group in all Ontario is about 75 members. There are only three functioning clubs in Toronto..one club peopled by all the little dictators, another purely social. The lifting of the charter of our club will in all probability break the youth group for sometime but they are quite prepared to do this.

The stoodges for the adult leadership seem quite prepared to break some of the adult clubs too. One of the clubs, after reluctantly accepting the expulsion of two, voted over the protest of only one member to give the two what might be considered an unoffbcial membership. However just a few days later the executive met and it was apparent that it had been lined up to change all this--to exclude the two from anything that the club holds and does. In the face of one effective opponent this effort was temporarily defeated by a motion to ask the provincial council for advice on the matter. But it is apparent that they are going to try to force the clubs to bar us from even showing our faces. It is quite possible that the action against the two in this case will result in the destruction of this club--the leadership know it but are prepared to pay the price. An important club--they held the provincial seat.

My impression is from the reaction that we have provoked by still carrying on around the clubs that the leadership by the expulsions and their widespread campaign figured that we would just walk away--or possibly re-organize a league of something or other. Our impression is that there is now some dissension in the top ranks--a feeling that it has been mishandled. We hear that Grube was opposed to doing anything with the information that the stool pigeon gave them. But they cannot turn back now even if this were true and more widespread.

What with the ratting of the Cochranites we have been taking a more fundamentalist line. If we had to do it over again and with the knowledge that we have now I feel certain that we would not have let anyone go through the trial. Of course we did not think that the stoolpigeon would invent a story of the whole cloth on three cases. We also felt that the leftist elements were a real pressure on us to go through some kind of experience. But while the leftists voted against the expulsion, about a solid vote of 5 council members, they really fell into the conspiracy trap. ..we lied to them, used pseudonyms etc. The leftists forgot the principled aspect of the struggle in reality. Some of them are more afraid than the rank and file. Of course Paddy took the principled line but looking backwards it should have been taken more strongly — by more persons.

I went out of my way to have a real discussion with one of the most vocal leftists about the case. I found my most powerful point was to show how the Bevanites reacted on the case of the Outlook. This character reads the Tribune and considers himself to be a Bevanite. The Tribune handled the whole English case as if it were purely and simply a matter of the banning of a paper. However I told him how the case was really posed by the Attleeite wing. I suppose you have read the Outlook containing the report that Alice Bacon made to the LP congress. There you will recall she says that we are not banning a paper but a paper that is a mask for an secret conspiratorial Trotskyist party which never ever did disband etc. Essentially the same as here. He did not believe that this was the way the case was posed at the congress to the delegates--for he had only read the Tribune. I then showed him the report on Bacon's speech and explained to him why the Bevanites took the line they did on the Tribune, that their line was a correct one and a principled one and that he in the Canadian case had fallen into the right wing's trap by not taking a similar principled line. It quite visibly shook him. And now he has another incident to mull over---the Bevanite support of the MP's who broke party discipline and party majority position.

The lawyer advisor of one of us is supposed to be calling all accused together to plan a strategy for an appeal. Of course the Cochran gang wont come . We are going to put pressure on him to go forward with this immediately. And if we do not get results very shortly we plan to get all the material together to draw up a common general statement and then an analysis of the individual cases. With such material we could go about distributing to activists in the various clubs. Of course if we had some kind of paper we would be in a much better position to do a job in defending ourselves. The leadership have spread their side of the story far and wide...for instance a member of the club I work in who moved out of the city and has been out of touch with the movement for about 8 months phoned the leading activist in the club to find out what it was all about.

I hear from Williams that things are starting to move against us there. Havent heard the sound yet but will [redacted] am shoving this off as I feel that it might be of considerable use to you. I hear that there is a bit of a hullabaloo about Rodney speaking. Of course I dont even know [redacted] what Williams knows but I am wondering if we can get out of this somehow--it seems to me that it plays into the right's hands to some extent. However I will be baby sitting at Williams for a couple of hours tonight while they go off to the south gathering so will hear all.

warmest regards

Ross